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EDITED BY
Professor D. C. SIRCAR



Our Journal

In issuing Vol III (Parts 1-2, 1969-70) of our Journal of Ancient Indian History, we humbly seek the patronage and blessings of all who are interested in the advancement of Indological studies. Any suggestion to make the periodical more useful as also more worthy of the great name of our alma mater, from friends and well-wishers, will be gratefully received and carefully considered.

The Journal, edited by the Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University, with the assistance of his colleagues, publishes papers on all aspects of the history and culture of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent, particularly relating to the period down to the 13th century A.D., with special reference to the subjects included in the syllabii of the M.A. Examinations in Ancient Indian History and Culture and Archaeology, e.g., Prehistory and Protohistory; Culture of the Vedic, Epic, Puranic, Buddhist, Jain and Classical Sanskrit Literature; Political History; Cosmography and Historical Geography; Epigraphy and Numismatics; Architecture, Sculpture, Painting and Iconography; Spread of Indianism; Socio-Economic Life and Polity; Religious Life: Astronomy and Mathematics; Ethnology and Archaeology; etc. Our endeavour is to include in it only articles which are of a reasonably high standard and contain new facts, arguments or conclusions. Preference will be given to papers submitted by persons associated with the Departments of Ancient Indian History and Culture (including the Centre of Advanced Study) and Archaeology.

For the benefit of our students, the Journal reprints articles which are prescribed for them, but appeared long ago in periodicals not easily available today. Likewise, it publishes, for their use, important articles translated from other languages.

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Carmichael Professor and Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, and Director of the Centre of Advanced Study in AIHC, Calcutta University.





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ARTICLES

THE BEGINNING OF INDOLOGICAL STUDIES*

MRS. ROSANE ROCHER

Traditionally, the birth date of Indology, i.e. the study of Indian culture by scholars other than Pandits working along traditional lines, is given as the 15th January, 1784, the day on which Sir William Jones founded the Asiatic Society in Calcutta. The Asiatic Society was indeed the main body that spread the interest in Indian culture all around the world; and its founder, Sir William Jones, was for a long time the most admired Oriental scholar. Before the foundation of the Asiatic Society, however, and before Sir William Jones, there had been Indological researches. They were not as brilliant, and not as widely known, as those that emanated later from the Asiatic Society; but they were the first determined efforts in that I would personally push back the birth date of Indology by about twelve years. I would like to start from the 17th of February, 1772, the day on which Warren Hastings arrived in Calcutta from Madras, to become Governor of Bengal Although Hastings was not a scholar himself, his influence and his patronage were to be determinant for the beginnings of Indology.

As soon as he assumed the Governorship, Hastings formulated the policy that British laws and British values should not be imposed on the Indians. He wanted Indians to observe their own laws and their own traditions. In the case of the Indian Muslims, there was no great difficulty

^{* [}From a lecture delivered at the Centre of Advanced Study in AIHC, Calcutta University, on 19.2.70.—Ed.]

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for the British to learn what these laws and traditions were; there was the Quran, and there were the codes of Muslim law that had been applied under the Mughul administration in India. But in the case of the great majority of the people, the Hindus, Hastings had to fight a double battle, one in Calcutta, and one in London. In India, the Pandits, who were the guardians of the tradition, considered their Dharmasastras as sacred texts not to be divulged to non-Hindus. It took all the patience, the diplomacy, and the heart-felt sympathy of Hastings for Indian culture to persuade the Pandits to make a Code of Hindu laws available. In London, on the other hand, Hastings had to convince the authorities of the East India Company that the Hindus did indeed have laws; people then still laboured under the mistaken idea, already recorded in the Greek descriptions of India, that the Hindus had no written laws. Both in Calcutta and in London, Hastings' perseverance prevailed. He convinced eleven Pandits to assemble in Calcutta, from May, 1773, until February, 1775, to compile a vast treatise of Hindu laws. But to convince the authorities in England, a treatise composed in Sanskrit was not enough; he had to show them an English text. To translate directly from Sanskrit into English, however, was impossible. The Paudits did not know English, and the Britishers did not know Sanskrit. An itermediary had to be found, and Persian, the administrative language then in general use, was thought of.

The task of translating the Code of Hindu laws from Persian into English was entrusted to Nathaniel Brassey Halhed, civil servant of the East India Company, who was only 22 at the time (he was born in 1751). Halhed was placed in charge of the whole project. The Pandits who composed the Code were paid by Halhed from Hastings' personal money, not from public funds. Hastings gave Halhed strict instructions that the whole project had to

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be completed fast, for he was afraid that influential persons in England, who had never been in India, and knew nothing about the country, would force British laws on India. Halhed worked with all deli erate speed, beginning to translate while the Pandits were still redacting the last chapters of the Code. Whereas the Pandits completed the original Sanskrit text as late as the end of February, 1775, the English translation, based on the Persian intermediary, was finished by August 5 (5 months later). The English translation was sent to London, and published in 1766 by the East India Company at the request of Warren Hastings. It bore the title: "A Code of Gentoo Laws, or Ordinations of the Pundits".

We may, if you wish, discuss later the relationship between the Sanskrit original, the Persian intermediary, and the English printed text. There are some intricate and interesting problems there. Let us leave them aside at present, for they do not primarily bear upon the scholarly activities of N. B. Halhed. After all, the Code was composed by the Pandits at the request of Warren Hastings; Halhed only happened to be the instrument selected by Hastings for the English translation. But Halhed's own contribution, the long Preface prefixed to the volume, excited much more interest in the West than the Code itself. Even today, it makes quite interesting reading; and it is an even more amazing piece of work, we think, on what Halhed's sources were. He had a thorough knowledge of Persian, but practically no knowledge of Sanskrit. He had tried to persuade the Pandits, who composed the Code, to teach him Sanskrit; but those were the days when the Pandits refused to teach the language of the gods to Mlecchas. It was only shortly before he finished his work that he found a Pandit, who, in spite of great opposition from members of his class, accepted to teach him some Sanskrit. Most of Halhed's information, therefore, rests

on Persian translations of Sanskrit texts, and on what he could learn from casual conversations with learned Hindus. We should, therefore, not be surprized to see this Preface contain both correct and erroneous data.

A feature which might strike you less strongly than it does me, is that, throughout, the Sanskrit words are distorted to reproduce a Bengali pronunciation; Sanskrit becomes Shanscrit, Veda becomes Beid, Yajñavalkya becomes Joge-Bulk, etc.' On the whole, however, the picture of the Sanskrit language he draws is remarkably accurate, and shows that he had used traditional grammars. On the other hand, what he says of the Vedas is incorrect. He believes them to be written "not in verse......but in a kind of measured prose". There was great perplexity then as to the nature of the Vedas. The Pandits were extremely careful that no copy of their most sacred texts should fall into the hands of a foreigner. This caused great frustration to the Western Indologist, since whatever they were told was declared to rest on the authority of the Veda; but they were barred from access to the original texts. One thing, at least, Halhed had correctly observed: "from the many obsolete terms used in the Beids, from the conciseness and obscurity of their dialect, and from the particularity of the modulation in which they must be recited, they are now hardly intelligible; very few of the most learned Pundits, and those only who have employed many years of painful study upon this one task, pretend to have the smallest knowledge of the originals, which are now also become extremely scarce and difficult to be found."

But, rather than list whatever in Halhed's Preface is correct or incorrect, it is more interesting to see what his attitude was, and what kind of reaction he had to face from traditional circles in England. When two civilizations come in contact, problems arise for the intelligent, for those

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who have an open mind and a sympathetic attitude. They inevitably incur an adverse reaction from the traditional circles, whose complacency and intellectual lethargy they threaten. The hostility which such Hindu modernists as Raja Ram Mohan Roy encountered is well known; but not enough attention has been paid to the other side of coin-the animosity which Western Orientalists experienced from the Christian traditional circles. course, the days when haresy was punished were long over, and Orientalists did not face any physical danger; but the social pressure was still there. It was no light matter to be attacked in the press as one rejecting the authority of the Bible. This happened to Halhed. The Reverend George Costard, who was the priest of a village near the country residence of the Halhed family, published a letter criticizing the Preface to the "Code of Gentoo Laws". The concluding . paragraph of that letter is illustrative enough. Reverend closes by saying: "And I make no doubt but when you come to reconsider some things, too hastily advanced, from a too great reliance on the authority of your Bramins, your own good sense will direct you to reform what in Europe, the most enlightened part of the world, cannot fail of being looked on as very exceptionable."

In his Preface, Halhed had been careful to include a few expressions such as "our own revealed truth", and "Hindu superstition, and prejudices", and in fact he never ceased to be a Christian. But this was not enough, for what he said was extraordinarily objective, and, as such, not acceptable to the traditionalists. There were, at the time, only two safe ways to treat foreign religions: one was to dismiss them as pure nonsense; the other was to try to interpret them in the light of Christian theology, showing that pagan myths were partial and imperfect illustrations of the same basic and universal truth, i.e., of course, the Christian truth.

Halhed explicitly objected to that attitude. He insisted upon the necessity to study a religion from the inside, not with the help of foreign concepts. He expressly stated that "we are not justified in grounding the standard and criterion of our examination of the Hindu religion upon the known and infallible truths of our own, because the opposite party would either deny the first principles of our argument, or insist upon an equal right on their side to suppose the veracity of their own Scriptures uncontrovertible." And he added: "It may possibly be owing to this vanity of reconciling every other mode of worship to some kind of conformity with our own, that allegorical constructions, and forced allusions to a mystic morality, have been constantly foistered in upon the plain and literal context of every pagan mythology."

The point on which Halhed was most attacked, however, was not his objectivity toward Hinduism, but his reliance on the antiquity of Hindu traditions. This clashed with the authority of Biblical chronology generally accepted in Here, again, Halhed pays lip service to the Mosaic chronology; but he decidedly inclines toward Hindu chronology. He says, "Though we may come to the perusal of their records, armed with every argument, and fortified even to prejudice against the admission of their pretensions, at the same time placing the most implicit reliance upon the Mosaic chronology as generally received, yet their plausible accounts of those remote ages, and their undeviating confidence in their own assertions, never can fail to make some impression upon us, in proportion as we gain a clearer insight to them." The distance between Biblical chronology and Hindu chronology was The Biblical chronology reckoned only a few thousand years between the creation and the beginning of the Christian era; but the Hindu chronology displayed à

staggering spans of time. Halhed was fascinated, until the end of his life, by the system of the four Yugas. We find in his Notes computations of time recurring time and again.

'Also shocking to those who relied exclusively on the authority of the Bible was Halhed's contention that Hindu traditions owed nothing to Hebraic traditions, whereas he put forward the hypothesis that a reverse influence might have taken place. He says: "We cannot possibly find grounds to suppose that the Hindus received the smallest article of their religion or jurisprudence, from the Institutes of Moses, though it is not utterly impossible, that the doctrines of Hindostan might have been early transplanted into Egypt, and thus have become familiar to Moses." It was the mistake of the time to think constantly in terms of influence and borrowing. There was a general belief then that language, writing, institutions, and civilization generally, originated from one part of the world and spread from there. The discusssion was often confined to the question: What country has the best claim to be civilization?—Was origin of it Egypt, Mesopotamia, India, China? It is a rather recent discovery that there were different and independent civilizations, that could afford materials for comparison, rather than filiation.

Another point that is striking in Halhed's Preface is his endeavour to defend certain aspects of the Code that were unpalatable to the Westerners. The latter part of the Preface is expressly devoted to that purpose. As far as the cruelty of some penalties was concerned, such as mutilations, etc., he had no great difficulty; it was easy to show that the Hebraic laws were not milder. But there were difficult points, on which he himself was obviously uneasy, and on which his performance is somewhat awkward. There was the question of satī, long before the practice actually became a public issue. There was an even more shocking item,

in the Western view: the question of the privileges of Brāhmṇas. The objection of Westerners in that matter is not so much that such privileges were observed in practice, but that inequality should be raised to the status of an actual principle of law. On both issues, Halhed reasoned that they were generally accepted in India, even by those who were the victims, i.e., women in the case of satī, and non-Brāhmaṇas in the case of privileges for Brāhmaṇas. If such was the situation, both aspects should be allowed to persist. For Halhed, the criterion was, not acceptability to the West, but the degree of acceptance in India itself.

Halhed wrote an answer to the criticisms voiced by the Reverend George Costard; but he did not publish it. It is preserved in manuscript form in the British Museum. I have a microfilm of the text, and I intend to publish it, for it is an extremely curious performance. Instead of repenting, as the Reverend had hoped he would do, Halhed is even more abrupt. Gone are the perfunctory references to "our own revealed truth"; Halhed now formulates explicitly the principle that scholarship and faith should remain separate. He declares: "That a man may propose doubts as a philosopher, without being called to account for them as a Christian."

He comes back with more insistance to the problem of the conflicting chronologies. He boldly says: "If we lay aside our Faith for a moment, and reason from analogy only, the Gentoo system of the Triteca Jogue seems much more of a piece with that period of time which we know to have elapsed since the Deluge, than does the Mosaic account of the antedeluvian world." He is more convinced than ever of the antiquity and the originality of Hindu traditions. He rejects the idea that India was ever influenced by Greece or Rome. On the contrary, he

declares: "I should much rather suppose that the Greeks received great part of their knowledge from Hindostan, if I could but form a probable conjecture of the way by which it could have travelled—for I have already dropped a hint as if I suspected that the Greeks had some tincture of Shanskrit before the arrival of Cadmus among them (i.e., before the era of the introduction of Phoenician letters)." You see that the same reasoning of the migration of civilization reappears. The discussion is in terms of priority; never is the possibility considered that the same discoveries could be made independently at different times in different parts of the world.

But a new theme also appears, which is very curious. Mention is often made of the permanence, or even immutability of Hindu institutions through long centuries; but on this occasion, Halhed uses it as an argument to accept that permanence for an even longer period, and to push back its origins even father in the past. He is extremely-eloquent on the subject. He says: "But should a country be found, where the native bent of temper, and constitutional pertinacity of the whole people, perpetually leads them to tread in the very footsteps of their fathers with the most rigid exactness-Where the system of religions, the nature of their government and perhaps even the peculiarity of their climate, unite to ensure an equal stability to their opinions, and lead them universally to reject every invention however useful, and every example however laudable, which has not entirely and all in all originated from among themselves: where the first mention which foreign history shall have made of their principles, customs, arts, religion, policy and even dress, corresponds most minutely, at the distance of some thousand years, with the particularities of the same people at this day: There, and there only, we may hope to find a clue for

tracing human nature to its original source; and as the collateral information which we have received of them agrees so well, as far as it reaches, with the accounts they give of themselves; and with facts of which we have every day ocular demonstration: We may there be allowed perhaps to extend our researches upon analogy, and even to give some degree of credit to the more distant and unattainable eras to which they so boldly refer us, after our collateral accounts fail us."

More than three years separate the Preface to the Gentoo Code from the answer to Costard's criticisms. The first was written in August 1775, the latter in the last months of 1778, in the Cape of Good Hope, when Halhed was going home back from India. During these three years he had gone on reading Persian, and studying Bengali and Sanskrit. In the Summer of 1778, just before he sailed, he published in Hoogly the first "Grammar of the Bengali Language". I must observe that it was more than a Bengali Grammar; it was also an introduction to Sanskrit. As he realized himself, he had introduced much more Sanskrit than was strictly necessary; but he says: "I was a little seduced by the novelty of the subject."

A Grammar, of course, was less controversial than a legal treatise. Yet, an opinion voiced in the Preface was received with criticism in England. Halhed had come, in the Preface to his Bengali Grammar, to an opinion he had already voiced in the Preface to the Gentoo Code. He wanted the British to follow in India the policy which the Romans had observed toward the nations that composed the Roman empire, and particularly Greece: they learned the Greek language, and adopted some of the Greek laws, and whatever in Greek mythology was reconcilable with the Roman religion. This was unacceptable to a reviewer, who contemptuously declared that "England would never

condescend to employ a foreign dialect as the medium of either commercial or political intercourse with people whom she regarded as her subjects."

Halhed took home a collection of Indian manuscripts. Although the collection is impressive, he would have had more, if he had the opportunity. In his unpublished answer to Costard, which I have mentioned earlier, he expresses the impossibility of obtaining the most sacred texts. He describes the situation in the following way: "Though they keep up all the prohibited volumes with the most attentive caution, and ever eagerly deny having them in their possession, they are perpetually in terror lest some weak or unworthy member of their order should be tempted by hope of gain to divulge the mysterious treasure." Among the books he regrets not to possess, he mentions "their Poorans or sacred histories (for these latter I could never persuade them to communicate)." This, by way, explains 1 a mistake he committed in the same document, when he said that "the Indians (whose histories overflow with accounts of partial floods) have not, that I could find, any tradition of an universal deluge." Reading the Matsyapurana would have helped.

Halhed's collection, thus, does not contain the Vedas, Purāṇas or Dharmaśāstras; these texts were too sacred to be obtained at the time. What we find are mainly grammars, alankāra texts, and epics, as well as translations of Sanskrit texts in Persian, Bengali and Hindi.

It is interesting to note that all texts quoted in the Preface to the Gentoo Code belonged to his collection: Bhagavadgītā, Mahāvākyavivaraṇa, Kāvyaprakāśa, the Grammar Sārasvataprakriyā, and Dārā Shikūh's Persian translation of 50 Upaniṣads. A manuscript of the Persian version of the Code of Gentoo Laws also belongs to his collection; this is the very manuscript from which the English trans-

lation was made. Similarly, the Bengali version of the Mahābhārata, quoted extensively in his Bengali Grammar, belongs to his collection of manuscripts.

One MS at least was given to Halhed by Warren Hastings to help him in his Oriental studies: we find among Halhed's MSS a treatise in Persian on the cosmogony, the geographical and astronomical systems, and the mythology and historical legends of the Hindus compiled from Sanskrit sources by Karparam, a Munshi employed by the East India Company for the Governor-General. himself was actively engaged in collecting MSS. Their colophons indicate that some MSS were copied for him. Such is the case with an abridgment of the Hujjat-ul Hind, a Persian treatise demonstrating the superiority of Islam over Hinduism, that was copied for Halhed in 1774. Several Sanskrit MSS were also copied for him. A colophon at the end of a MS of the Kāvyaprakāsa states that it was copied for Halhed by the Kashmirian Pandit Kāśīnātha. Several other MSS were copied by the same Kashmiri hand: in 1774, the Pancaratnagita, and in 1776, a nearly complete Mahābhārata in 8 volumes. By the same hand also the grammatical treatise Sārasvataprakriyā. This was later used by Halhed's friend, the more famous Indologist Charles Wilkins, as a basis for his Sanskrit Grammar, published in London in 1808. Halhed's MSS of Sanskrit Grammars all indicate a close relationship with Wilkins. initials are found on Halhed's copies of the Mugdhabodha and the Siddhantakaumudi. When Halhed left India in July 1778 to return to Europe, he seems to have asked Wilkins to have other MSS copied for him. In June, 1779, a copy of an Arabic-Persian Dictionary was made for Halhed from a Wilkins MS. And in August, 1779, a copy of Ferishta's History of India was made for Halhed by order of Wilkins.

Halhed collected a few other MSS during a second, very short, visit to India, from July, 1784, to January, 1785.

- Among them, we find three interesting works, inscribed as "the gift of Lala Herjis Ray". The three MSS offered by him to Halhed are all Persian reworkings of Sanskrit texts: abridged versions of the Yogavāsiṣṭha and of the Simhāsanadvātrimsatikā, and a translation of the Purāṇārtha-prakāśa, written by Pandit Rādhākānta at the request of Warren Hastings (the Sanskrit original is to be found in
 - Hastings' Collection of MSS).

 Other Persian MSS came to Halhed from his father-inlaw, who was the Director of the Dutch colony of Chinsura.
 It is amazing to see how many of the Western officials in
 India collected MSS in that period. It is basically from
 these very MSS that present day Western public collections
 are made. For most of the MSS, however, we do not
 know how they came into Halhed's hand.

Halhed's collection of Oriental MSS was acquired by the British Museum in two parts. In May, 1795, the Museum bought from a book eller 69 MSS which he had purchased from Halhed. The remaining 24 MSS were bought directly from Halhed one year later, in March, 1796. At that time, Halhed, who had invested his once very large fortune in French assignats, was in deep financial difficulties. He had been forced to sell his house; now was the turn of his collection of MSS.

The MSS sold by Halhed in 1795 constitute the bulk of his Oriental collection. They are all plain MSS; they do not include any papers of a personal nature. His Sanskrit MSS consist mainly of popular texts: a nearly complete Mahābhārata, a MS of the Bhagavadgītā with the commentary Subodhinī, a sectarian collection of the 5 Gems of the Mahābhārata. There is also a minor Vedantic treatise—the Mahāvākyavivaraṇa, an alankāra text—the Kāvyaprakāša, and three Sanskrit Gram ars.

His Hindi MSS contain two major works: Jāysī's Padmāvat, and Tulsīdās' version of the Rāmāyaṇa. Here

also, we find sectarian Vaisnava literature: a translation of the 10th Skandha of the Bhāgavatapurāna in Braj Bhāṣā, and poems in Braj Bhāṣā associated with the worship of Kṛṣṇa. The remaining texts are mainly alankāra and other treatises on poetics. In Bengali, we have poems: the Vidyāsundara, and the poetical works of Kavikankaṇa. More important from an antiquarian point of view, are Bengali versions of both the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata.

The great bulk of Halhed's Collection, however, were Persian MSS. This is not surprising, since Persian was the Oriental language he knew best.

The first set of MSS sold to the British Museum contains very few of Halhed's favourite texts, i.e., Persian texts giving an insight of Hindu doctrines. We find among them a copy of the Persian translation of 50 Upanisads ordered by Dārā Shikūh, and one copy of a Persian abridgment of the Yogavāsiṣṭha.

The MSS that compose the second set sold to the British Museum have a completely different character, and a very personal one. These are mainly the MSS on which Halhed worked, and most of them contain copious marginal We can see from such notes in these MSS that, since his return from India, Halhed had constantly pursued his Oriental studies. We find no such notes in his Sanskrit MSS, for Halhed was never able to read Sanskrit without the assistance of a Pandit; he completely abandoned Sanskrit when he left India. But he persevered in his studies of Persian texts dealing with Indian culture. We find extensive marginal notes in the Persian histories of India, and in the Persian versions of the Yogavāsistha. the Simhāsanadvātrimsatikā, and the mathematical treatise Līlāvatī.

In January, 1787, Halhed was working on the geographical aspects of the compilation made by Karpārām from



Sanskrit sources. In May, 1787, he completed a translation of Dārā Shikūh's Persian version of the Upanisads, with a Preface. This was an enormous work: 332 densely written pages. In December, 1788, he translated the Persian version of the Puranarthaprakasa. In September, 1791, he was interested in Hindu cosmogony as described in Karpārām's Persian compilation from Sanskrit sources. In October-November of the same year, he worked on a translation of the Persian version of the 10th Skandha of the Bhagavatapurana. Later in the same month of November. 1791, he made abstracts of the Mahābhārata, from the Persian version. Some of his later writings, and particularly the Preface to his translation of Dārā Shikūh's Upanisads, are rather extravagant. He had totally forgotten the excellent principle, he had himself expressed in his first publication, that religions should be interpreted as factually as possible; without attempts at symbolizing or sublimatization. In his mystic writings, on the contrary, he made sweeping comparison between myths in Hindu, Greek, Roman, Hebraic and Christian religions.

In the possession of the Asiatic Society of Bengal there is an enormous folio (European MS 41), containing notes on, translation of and extracts from the Persian version of the Mahābhārata. It is written very much in the same style as Halhed's Notebook preserved in the British Museum, and contains plenty of dates, that show most of the work to have been done in the three years 1811-13.

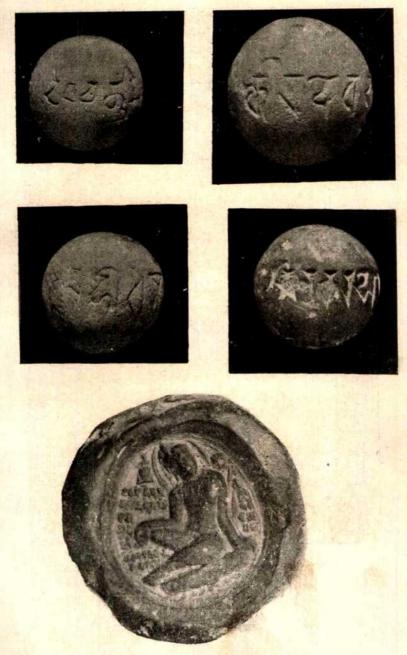
Halhed was probably one of the first Westerners who aimed at an objective study of Indian culture. His interest was no longer that of the missionary who tried to learn more about Hindu institutions in order to find a more adequate way to convert the people to Christianity. His interest was no longer that of the Western traveller to far away and strange parts of the world, looking for materials

for a fascinating and exotic travel account. With Halhed, we reach the stage at which a foreigner is genuinely interested in Indian civilization, and tries to find out more about it for no other reason than that he is interested in it.

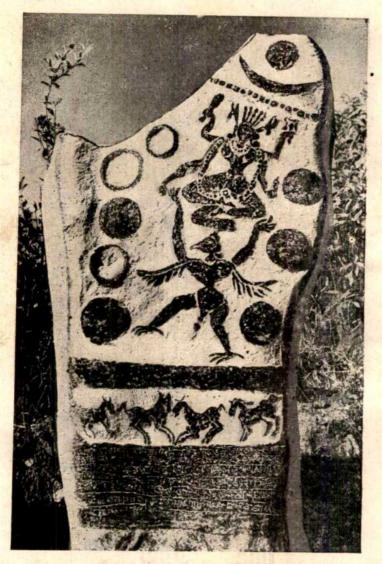
I have tried to show that this genuine interest was not always appreciated in the West. No one had objected to the efforts of the missionaries whose sole goal was to spread Christianity among the pagans. People in Europe had read avidly the strange and often unbelievable stories by travellers who never thought of questioning their own Western values. But now comes a man who studies Indian culture as something valuable in itself, as valuable as Western civilization. This created a shock. Fortunately, this shock was not to last long and, as a result, has often been overlooked; but the shock had been there and Halhed was part of it.

Finally, I also wanted to show how limited and haphazard the sources for the study of Indian culture were at the beginning. Halhed realized that a knowledge of Sanskrit was the key; he wanted to study it, but could not go very far. His limitations were to incite, only a few years later, men like Wilkins, Hamilton, Jones, etc., to study Sanskrit and consult the original sources. I have laid stress on Halhed's collection of MSS to show how important Persian sources have been in the early study of Hinduism.

It is not difficult to find fault with many of the data contained in Halhod's writings. Our knowledge of ancient Indian culture is so much farther advanced. But we would never be where we are in our studies, had it not been for the honest efforts of men like Halhed.



Figs. 1-4 —Terracotta Balls (p. 17) Fig. 5 —Clay Seal (p. 20)



Inscribed Stone from Zampi (pp. 28, 284, 388-89)

INSCRIPTIONS ON TERRACOTTA BALLS AND A CLAY SEAL

SARJUG PRASAD SINGH

Ι

Four terracotta balls were found at the village of Bhelāvar, about 6 miles to the east of Jahanabad, a Sub-Divisional town in the Gaya District of Bihar. The name of the village is said to be Vilvabhadra or Belabhadra. It is situated on a huge mound (about 20 feet high) surrounded by five old tanks called Chandokhar (or Chandrapokhar), Sivaiyā, Tārakeśvarī-pokhar, Parameśvarī-pokhar and Bhattokhar. Antiquities like early terracotta figurines, coins (silver punch-marked and cast copper), clay sealings, stone and terracotta beads and potsherds of black and red, N.B.P. and gray types are often discovered from the mound. Remnants of old brick structures have been exposed by the rains here and there on its slope.

All the terracotta balls in question, which are surface collection, are hand-made and solid, without any painting or decoration. Two of them are made of very fine paste and their surface is smooth. One of the balls (No. 1) is 5.7" in circumference and 307 grammes in weight. It bears a single line of writing—Devacandramitrabatu in characters of the Gupta age. It may be noted in this connection that the name-ending batu is not known to have been used as a family designation; but it seems to be the same as bataka meaning a Brahmacārin (a student). The person does not

¹ A large number of images of Brāhmanical gods and goddesses, discovered at the place, are collected by the local people in front of a temple enshrining a Siva-linga and also on the summit of the said mound

² According to Monier-Williams, the term batu (same as batuka)

appear to have anything to do with the Mitras of Bihar.⁸ The eastern variety of the letter ma^4 used in our epigraph corresponds to its form in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta (c. 335-76 A D.)⁵ and the Kafitalai plate of $Mah\bar{a}r\bar{a}ja$ Jayanātha of the year 174 (593-94 A.D.).⁶

Ball No. 2 is 2.9" in circumference and 203 grammes in weight. The inscription, in characters of about the 8th or 9th century A.D., reads Kīradevasya, 'of Kīradeva'.

Ball No. 3 is not properly fired and its surface is corroded. It is 6.3" in circumference and 439 grammes in weight. The single line of writing, in characters similar to those of No. 2, reads *Mahidharadevasya*, 'of Mahidharadeva'.

Ball No. 4 is not well-baked and is blackish in colour. It weighs 347 grammes and is 2.5" in circumference. The

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means a boy, lad, stripling, youth (specially a young Brāhmaṇa; but also applied to an adult). Batu also means a class of priests.

³ Of the Mitra rulers known from literary and archaeological sources, Indragnimitra, Brahmamitra, Indramitra, Brhaspatimitra, Bhūmimitra and Arya-Visakhamitra are associated with Bihar. The first two are known from some of the inscriptions at Bodhgaya (Cunningham, Mahabodhi, p. 15; Barua, Gaya and Buddhagaya, Vol II, pp. 67, 69). Indramitra is known from the coin discovered at Kumrahar (ASI, A.R., 1912-13, pp. 84 ff). For Brhaspatimitra of the Hathigumpha inscription, see Sircar in The Age of Imperial Unity, ed. Majumdar, p. 214. He was the king of Magadha according to the said Häthigumphä inscription of Khäravela (Sircar, Sel. Ins., p. 209). Bhūmimitra is known from the coin unearthed at Kumrahar (Altekar and Mishra, Rep. Kum. Excav., 1951-55, p. 98, Pl. LXXB, No. 19). The Kailvan Brahmi inscription (186 A.D.) shows that Arya-Visākhamitra was ruling over the Patna-Gaya region (Ancient Magadha) in the last quarter of the 2nd century. Cf Ep. Ind., Vol. XXXI, pp. 229 ff.

⁴ Cf. Ep. Ind., Vol. XXI, p. 2.

⁵ Sircar, Sel. Ins., Pl. XLV.

⁶ Fleet, CII, Vol III, No. 26, Pl. XVI, p. 117.

· inscription reads Śivakara-Somadevayoh 'of Śivakara and Somadeva'.

An examination of the terracotta balls under discussion shows that the inscriptions were engraved before the balls were dried-up and becked, i.e. when the clay was still soft. The weights of the balls are irregular and they do not correspond to the traditional weight standard and hence they were possibly not used as weights.

It may be pointed out that stone and terracotta balls of various sizes are often discovered at ancient-sites; but they are rarely inscribed. The uninscribed balls of small sizes were generally used for playing while the bigger ones may have been used as missiles.

Like stone and copper-plate, clay objects (tablets, plaques, etc.), which were much cheaper and more easily procurable, were possibly used, as suggested by D.C. Sircar, to record minor donations of poor people. Sircar now suggests to me that the present terracotta balls may have served a similar purpose and were probably offered by the donees

⁷ Cf. Indian Archaeology, 1961-62, p. 5. As many as 88 terracotta balls of different sizes were dug out in the excavations at Kumrahar (cf. Altekar and Mishra, op. cit., p. 125, Pl. LVIII). According to the excavators, the balls may have been used either as pebbles or as pellets for sling or sling-bow. One of the balls from Kumrahar is decorated by 14 dotted lines; but none of them are inscribed. Terracotta balls have also been discovered from early sites in Sumer, Egypt and the Indus valley. An uninscribed ball of stiff earth or clay was discovered below the Vajrasana throne in the Mahabodhi temple at Bodhgaya (cf. Cunningham, op. cit., p 20). During 1961-62, 44 circular balls of terracotta and 34 of stone were discovered in the excavations at Ahar. Cf. Sankalia, Deo and Ansari, Excavations at Ahar, pp. 194, 207.

⁸ A terracotta plaque published by Sircar, records the gift of a lotus (possibily of gold) by three persons named Sādhi. Eci and Āka at the feet of Kēśavā (a god or goddess; probably Viṣnu) at a place called Nagaldāmaka in North Bihar. Cf. Ep. Ind., Vol. XXX, p. 86.

(whose names are inscribed on the balls) together with their offerings as a sort of label to their gifts to some deity. This seems to indicate the existence of a religious establishment at Bhelāvar during the Gupta and the post-Gupta periods.

II

The village of Dhibrā lies one and half miles to the west of the Masaurhi Police Station in the Patna District of Bihar. It is a Tolā of the village of Koriyānvā (situated about quarter of a mile to the north-west of Dhibrā) and inhabited by scheduled caste and scheduled tribe people. The name Dhibrā, also Goḍhpar, is applied to it because it is situated on a high mound. The mound is extensive and is surrounded on all sides by a deep moat. It may be noted that during recent years the villagers have discovered a number of images, e.g., of Viṣṇu, Sūrya, Tārā, Bodhisattva, Umā-Maheśvara and Gaṇeśa, here and there on the mound, while digging foundation trenches for the construction of walls or ploughing their field.

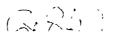
In the centre of the village on the summit of the mound is a small circular platform where villagers have collected a large number of mutilated images for worship, and it is believed that there was an old shrine at this spot. A few yards to the north-west of the platform, an old well, octagonal in shape, was recently discovered. About 600 yards to the east of the village lies a large tank (some portion of it is now filled-up) called Ganguta, said to have been excavated by a demon, and the local people believe that it was an abode of the Rākṣasas.

⁹ It is said that some of the images discovered at Dhibra were taken away by the local B.D.O. for the Patna Museum.

- It may be mentioned in this connection that there are a number of villages like Manicak, 10 Taregna 11, Saguni, 12 Hansadih, 13 etc., having old ruins, within a radius of two miles.
 - A clay seal, in the possession of Sri Sukhdeo Singh of the village of Koriyanva, is said to have been discovered at the village of Dhibra (Dhibrapar). It is a circular piece measuring 1.7" in diameter. Not being properly baked, it is broken at the lower edge. In the centre, it bears the figure of Bodhisattva Padmapāni seated on a lotus throne (padmāsana) in sukhāsana. He wears a crown (kirīţa-mukuţa) and a necklace. Matted locks of hair are seen hanging down from his head which is slightly inclined towards the right. On the back of the head is the prabhamandala (halo). There is a circle of dots along a curved line around the head. To the right of the head is the representation of a votive stūpa. The Bodhisattva holds 'a lotus with a long stalk in his left hand resting on the back of the throne while his right hand rests on his right knee and opens to the front in the varada-mudrā.

The striking feature of the figure is its modelling, and

¹³ The village lies two miles to the west of the Masaurhi Police Station.



¹⁰ The village lies about half a mile to the east of the Masaurhi Police Station. A few years ago, an image of Viṣṇu of the Pāla age was discovered here by a villager while digging earth in a field. The image has been installed in a local temple.

¹¹ This village hes close to the north of Manicak. There lies on the southern fringe of the village a circular mound about 150 ft. in diameter and 20 ft. in height. In 1925-26, a hoard of silver punchmarked coins was discovered here. Cf ASI, A.R., 1925-26, p. 168; 1930-34, p. 302.

¹² It lies about two miles to the south-east of the Masaurhi Police Station. A number of Brahmanical images of the early medieval period (now in the collection of Sri Prabhakar Sharma of the village) have been recently discovered while digging a well in the village.

it can be compared with the best sculptures of Eastern India in style and execution. It must be noted that the artist has attained remarkable success in giving a divine touch and infusing spritual emotion in the figure. The modelling of the body is graceful and the face expressive. The varada-mudrā gives the idea of the Bodhisattva bestowing boon on his devotees.

The inscription is the usual Buddhist formula written on either side of the figure. On palaeographical grounds, it may be assigned to a date about the 9th century A.D.

[Ball No. 1 reads Devacandramittravațu, while Ball No. 2 reads Kṣīradevasya in which kṣa is of the type found in inscriptions like the Belava plate of Bhojavarman and the Naihati plate of Ballālasena. Ball No. 4 reads [Di]nakarasoma-Narvva(rmma) devayoh. Palaeographically, the writing on Ball No. 3 is considerably earlier than the inscription borne by Ball No. 2.—Ed.]

¹⁴ Plasticity of complete roundness and freshness, sensuousness and emotion, dignity and serenity are the characteristics of the medieval sculptures of Bihar and West Bengal. They may be regarded as the final phase of the Classical tradition. Cf. Kramrisch, Pāla and Sena Sculpture' in the *Rupam*, No. 40, October, 1929, p. 116.

VIȘNU ON SOME TRIPURĂ COINS

A. N. LAHIRI

The Rājamālā, the State Chronicle of Tripurā, speaks of three series of commemorative coins which king Vijayamānikya I struck after certain achievements, evidently connected with his military campaigns. The passage concerned runs thus:

Brahmaputra-snāna kari jarapa mārila |
Dhvajaghāṭa-vijayī bali mahare likhila ||
Tīrtharāja-snāna pare Lakṣāte gaman |
Lakṣā-snāna bali jarap mārila rājan ||
Icchāmatī-pathe Padmāvatī gela pare |
Yātrāpure giyā rājā snān-tarpan kare ||
Padmāvatī-snāna pare mahara māriche |
Padmāvatī jala pāna sasainye kariche ||¹

This means that king Vijayamāṇikya I struck coins after his holy bath in the Brahmaputra and wrote on them the words, *Dhvajaghāṭa-vijayī*. He then had his dip in the Lakṣā river and struck coins commemorating his bath in the Lakṣā. Finally, he had his holy bath in the Padmāvatī, which event also he commemorated by striking coins.

K.C. Barman published in 1948 a coin commemorating the first event.² It has on the obverse the Sanskrit legend written in Bengali characters: Dhvajaghāta-jayi-śrī-Vijayamāṇikyadeva-śrī-Sarasvatīmahādevyau, and on the reverse the usual 'Tripurā lion' and the date, Śaka 1476.

K. P. Sen's Rājamālā, Vol. II, "Vijayamāņikya-khanda", p. 55.
 Ānandabājār Patrikā (Bengali Daily), 19th Pauşa, 1354 B.S.

⁽⁴th January, 1948), pp. 9, 11-12.

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Coins commemorating the second event were published by both K.P. Sen and K.C. Barman. They bear on the legend: Laksā-snāvi-śrī-frī-Tripurāmahesathe Vijayamānikyadeva-śrī-Laksmībālā-mahādevyau, and reverse what both Sen and Barman wrongly identified as Mahisamardini,8 but we have recognised as the figure of Ardhanāriśvara, composed of the right half of a caturbhuja vṛsa-vāhana Siva and the left half of a dasabhujā simha-vāhinī Durgā, and the date. Saka 1482.4 long the last of the 'trio', i.e. Vijayamānikya's coin commemorating his holy bath in the Padmavati, was not known. Recently, however, Mr. P.K. Unny, a well-known collector of the late medieval Hindu coins of North-Eastern India, acquired a unique specimen of the third series of Vijayamānikya's commemorative coins. As soon as Mr. Unny got the coin, he spoke to me over the telephone and gave me a somewhat detailed description of it, reading out at the same time a good portion of the legend. The next day Mr. Unny very kindly brought the coin to me and placed it at my disposal for study. Though neither damaged nor worn out, the short-flan thick-fabric coin had a hard coating of dirt which prevented the obverse legend being easily deciphered and the reverse device correctly recognised. I was amazed to note that inspite of the difficulty created by the dirt crust of the coin, Mr. Unny, a Malayali resident of Calcutta, could successfully read the epithet Padmāvatī-snāyio, the king's name 'Vijayamānikya' and the date, Saka 1485, and describe the coin's complicated device fairly well. I had, however, to devote quite some time for the decipherment of the entire legend, the queen's name posing to be the most

³ Sen, op. cit., Introduction, p. xxi; and Barman, loc. cit.

⁴ JNSI, Vol. XXIX, Part II, p. 74.

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- difficult thing to settle. Mr. Unny's reading was Vāmadevī, which, I am sure, very few students of Tripurā coins could improve upon. The name of course is Vākdevī. Let us now describe the coin:
 - Obverse: The conventional Śiva-linga in a lined square in the centre, around which is the legend written in a somewhat cramped way; (above, in two lines) Padmā-/vatī-snāyi-(left) s'rī-Vi-(right) śveśva-(left) ra-Vi-(right) jaya- (below in two lines) deva-s'rī-Vāk-/ devyau. The complete legend reads: Padmāvatī-snāyi-śrī-Viśveśvara-Vijayadeva-śrī-Vākdevyau.

Reverse: On a squarish lion-throne (simhāsana) supported by a pair of lions at each of the four corners (two front ones of which are visible), caturbhuja Viṣṇu with normal (?) praharaṇas, being raised by his vāhana (vehicle) Garuḍa, the mythical anthropoid kite, and attended by a human being at each side. In exergue, Śaka 1485.

We thus get all the three commemorative coins of Vijayamānikya I quite in keeping with the statement of the Rājamālā and, as their respective dates show, in the very order in which they are detailed. But the events which were commemorated by these coins did not occur in as quick a succession as the chronicle would imply. The first event took place in (or sometime before) Saka 1476, the second in (or sometime prior to) Saka 1482 and the last in (or a little before) Saka 1485. Thus, as many as nine years elapsed between the first and the last of the three events. This means that king Vijayamānikya I was in conflict with the then Sultān of Bengal, who was in possession of the region concerned for a long period, and had achieved occasional successes against the latter.

The date of the coin, viz. Saka 1485, is important, since it is the latest known date for Vijayamāṇikya I. And this is what we expect, since a few coins of his son

Anantamānikya have recently turned up bearing the date Śaka 1486.⁵ Thus, it is now certain that Vijayamānikya I ruled upto the first part of Śaka 1485 or even the early part of Śaka 1486.

A very important feature of the coin is the representation of Visnu on the reverse of the coin. We do not know why a Śakta, and evidently a worshipper of Durga, should suddenly take recourse to the worship of Visnu. know, he, like all his three known coin-issuing predecessors. viz. Ratnamānikya I, Dhanyamānikya Devamānikya, normally struck coins with the usual Tripurā device of the 'lion', the vahana of Durga. That was the case upto the time of his issuing the coin commemorating his conquest of Dhvajaghāta in Saka 1476. But, with the issue of the coin commemorating his dip in the Laksa, he felt the need of changing the coin-device. And the result was the unique depiction of Ardhanāriśvara composed of the halves of Durga and her consort Siva. The commemorative coin of the third series appears to indicate a change in the religious affiliation of the king. He stressed his faith in Visnu and, in consequence, invoked the god in a peculiar aspect. We do not know what precisely brought about this sudden change. Had his conquest of the region where he had his holy bath in the Padmavati something to do with it?

There is, however, another interesting feature of the coin which is too conspicuous to be overlooked. Its obverse has in a square frame the conventional Siva-linga, which evidently indicates the king's leaning, at least partially, also towards Saivism. The Rājamālā does not, interestingly enough, say anything about the device of Vijayamānikya's coins, not even about the conventional 'lion'. So we

⁵ See the description below.

may not expect to know anything about the occurrence and significance of the Siva-linga on the coins of his third commemorative series. Curiously, however, we know from the Rājamālā that Kalyānamānikya depicted on his coins a Siva-linga after becoming king in Saka 1547:

Panera sa sātacallisa sake rājā haila | Subhadine mahārāja mohara mārila || Sivalinga likhilek mohara-pṛṣṭhete | Āra pṛṣṭhe nija-nāma rājāra ehāte ||°

This means that Kalyāṇamāṇikya became king in Śaka 1547 and struck coins; he depicted a Śiva-liṅga on his coins, and wrote his own name on the other side. Interestingly enough, Kalyāṇamāṇikya's coins dated Śaka 1548 confirms this statement of the Rōjamālā. But there is a slight difference. The depiction of the tiny Śiva-liṅga occurs on the legend-side of the coin, not on the other side. In fact, quite a few of his successors kept up this practice of depicting a tiny Śiva-liṅga on the legend-side of the coins. We now know that Vijayamāṇikya I started the convention.

However, the device of Viṣṇu being raised by his vāhana Garuḍa is highly interesting. We do not know who the two human attedants of Viṣṇu are. As it appears, one of them is a male person and the other a female. Can they be Vijayamāṇikya and his consort Vākdevī? Then, again, the depiction of a simhāsana or the lion-throne as a squarish seat with the simhas or lions to support it is no less interesting.

The idea of depicting Viṣṇu being raised by Garuḍa was kept up by Vijayamāṇikya's hapless son Ananatamāṇikya. He, however, did not make the device as elaborate

⁶ Sen, op. cit., Vol. III, "Kalyāņamāņikya-khaņda", p. 66.

as his father did. He adopted only the central motif for what was evidently his coronation coin, the description of which is as follows:

Obverse: In an ornamental border, three-line legend, śri-śri-yu- / t- Anantamāṇi- / kyadeva.

Reverse: In a lined circle with pellets around, the figure of caturbhuja Viṣṇu being raised by his vāhana Garuḍa. Date below: (left) Śaka 14- (right) 86.

Anantamāṇikya's coins dated Śaka 1487, however, do not bear this Viṣṇu device; they bear instead the usual device of the 'Tripurā lion'. It is possible that initially Anantamāṇikya was under some influence of the Vaiṣṇavas, but was very soon led by the Tāntrika practices, which brought about his doom through the machination of his father-in-law Gopīprasāda who promptly seized the throne and assumed royal powers under the name of Udayamāṇikya.

Sometime during 1966-67, the Archaeological Department of Burma acquired a longish stone slab from the village of Zampi, Tiddim Sub-Division, Falam District, Chin Hills, Burma, which has a significant bearing on the topic of our discussion. It has at the top an almost identical device of 'Viṣṇu being raised by Garuda', as depicted on the coin of Vijayamāṇikya I and his son Anantamāṇikya. At the top of the device is a crescent moon above a dotted line, while there are eight round objects around, five of them being solid and three hollow. In the exergue there are four horse- or goat-like animals, two of which are advancing from the left and the other two,

^{7.} We are indebted to Prof. D. C. Sircar for allowing us to examine the photograph of the stone slab, which was exhibited and discussed by him in one of the Monthly Seminars at the Centre of Advanced Study in AIHC.

from the right. There is then just below the animals an indifferently written seven-line inscription in what looks like Bengali characters. It is almost impossible to decipher the inscription, though, to our great surprise, a date at the end of the fifth line is readable. It is, interestingly enough, 'Saka 1479'. The date falls within the reign period of Vijayamāņikya I who, as we know only from coins, began to rule in or just before Saka 1454 and was on the Tripura throne at least upto Saka 1485. We do not know what connection the person, who got the inscription incised, had with Tripura; but the fact that he was a contemporary of Vijayamānikya I and used the device of his coin is significant. And since the Chin Hills District is within 200 miles from Agartala, we may assume for the time being that he might be a member of the Tipra tribe and a subject of Vijayamānikya I.

This interesting Vişnu device, as far as we know, is otherwise unknown elsewhere in India.*

[Vākdevī is grammatically required to have been Vāgdevī. Moreover, kde or gde was expected to be written as a conjunct. The queen's name seems to have been Vāmadevī as Mr. Unny has read.—Ed.]

^{* [}See the proceedings of the Monthly Seminars held at the Centre of Advanced Study in AIHC, Nos XXXV and XXXVII, below.—Ed.]

SOME EPIGRAPHIC AND MANUSCRIPT RECORDS

D.C. SIRCAR

1. An Alleged Inscription of Kharavela

The Government of Andhra Pradesh has recently published Dr. R. Subrahmanyam's paper entitled 'The Guntupally Brāhmī Inscription of Khāravela' as No. 3 of its Epigraphical Series (Hyderabad, 1968). Guntupally is a small village about six miles from Kamavarapukota in the West Godavari District of Andhra Pradesh. It is interesting to note that the same inscription is engraved on four different pillars discovered at the village. The arrangement of the akṣaras is, however, not exactly the same in the different versions. The expression Mahisakādhipatisa as found in Nos. 1, 2 and 4 appears as Mahisakādhipatisa in No. 3. The characters of the epigraph are Brāhmī, and it is written in the Prakrit language.

About the contents of the inscription, Dr. Subrahmanyam says, "The inscription purports to register the grant of a maṇḍapa (to which the pillars bearing the record perhaps belonged) by one Cula-Goma, the recorder of royal messages or orders (Sirisamdesa-lekhakasa) of Mahārāja Kalingādhipati Mahāmekhavāhana also described as the overlord of the Mahiṣakas (Mahisakādhipatisa).....The title of Mahāmekhavāhana of the present inscription appears to be a variant of Mahāmeghavāhana of the Udayagiri cave records (including the Hāthigumphā inscription of king Khāravela) as both of them (i.e. the king referred to in the Guntupally inscription and also Khāravela) are said to have been the rulers of Kalinga (Kaling-ādhipati)The inscription under discussion, while enumerating the usual titles Mahārāja, Kaling ādhipati and Mahāmeghavāhana, omits

his name Khāravela, but describes him as the overlord of the Mahişakas."1

I am inclined to disagree with the views of Dr. Subrahmanyam quoted above.

In the first place, the king mentioned in the Guntupally inscription has not been called Kaling-ādhipati and Mahisak-ādhipati, but Kalinga-Mahisak-ādhipati in a single compound expression. Since the Hāthigumphā inscription does not mention Khāravela as a lord of the Mahisaka country or people, he can hardly be identified with the king of the Guntupally inscription especially when his name cannot be traced in this record. The title Kalinga-Mahisak-ādhipati may mean 'lord of Kalinga and Mahisaka' and, in that case, Mahisaka was a region abutting on Kalinga' and it was annexed to Kalinga by some successor of Khāravela who is described in his own record as well as in his queen's inscription as the lord of Kalinga only.

Secondly, some of the characters of the Guntupally inscription are very considerably later than those of the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela who is now assigned to the close of the first century B.C. The Guntupally epigraph, written in an alphabet consisting of both northern and southern as well earlier and later forms of letters, employ the later cursive forms of ca, da, la, ha, etc., side by side with earlier southern forms of ma, sa, etc. The

¹ Op cit., p. 2.

² For the various locations of the Mahişa or Mahişaka country, see N. L. Dey, Geographical Dictionary, p. 120. None of the theories, however, locates the territory near Kalinga.

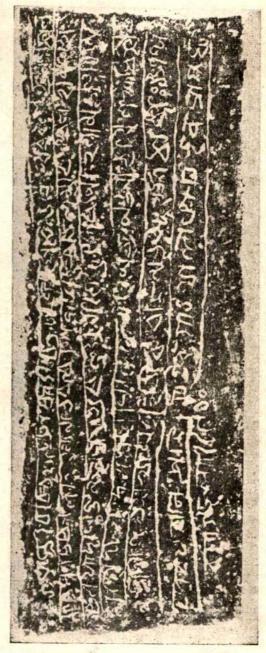
³ The Häthigumphä inscription of Khāravela and the Mañcapurī cave inscription of his queen mention the king respectively as Kalingādhipati and Kalinga-cakravatin, while another ruler of the Mahāmeghavāhana dynasty is likewise called Kalingādhipati in his Mañcapurī cave inscription. See Sircar, Select Inscriptions, Vol. I, 1965, pp. 214, 222.

letter pa has the old Brāhmī form. The above type of mixed alphabet reminds us of the early medieval 'Kalinga Script' which now appears, from the palaeography of the Guntupally inscription, to have had a fairly early beginning. In any case, the characters of the Guntupally inscription appear to be considerably later than those of Khāravela's record so that the king mentioned in the epigraph cannot be indentical with Khāravela, but must have flourished at a later date.

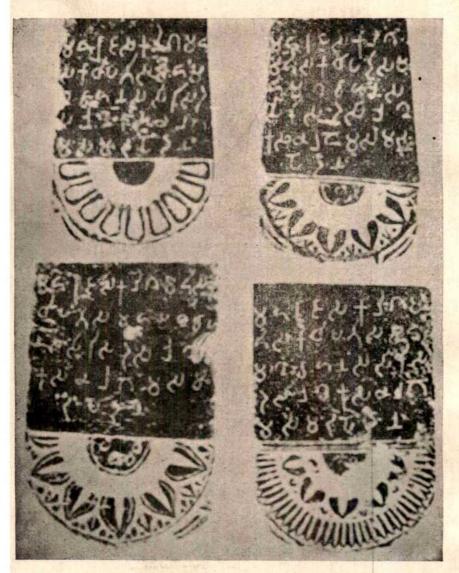
Thirdly, Dr. Subrahmanyam's opinion that the name of the Mahameghavahana king is not mentioned in the Guntupally inscription seems to us to be definitely wrong. He reads in lines 2-5 of his text-Mahāmekhavāhanasa Sirisadasalekhakasa Cula-Gomasa, in which he corrects Sirisadasalekhakasa as Sirisamdesa-lekhakasa and suggests that Cula-Goma was the srisandesa-lekhaka or recorder of royal messages or orders. But the passage is clearly Mahāmekhavāhanasa siņi-Sadasa lekhakasa Cūla-Gomasa, "of Cūla-Goma (Kşudra-Goma, i.e. the younger Goma) who is the scribe of the illustrious Sada, the Mahameghavahana." The name of the Mahameghavahana king of Kalinga and Mahisaka mentioned in the Guntupally inscription is therefore Sada. It should be noticed that the mention of a Mahārāja who was the lord of Kalinga and Mahisaka by merely dynastic appelation Mahāmeghavāhana, without giving out his personal name, would have been quite awkward in the record.

As regards the form Mahāmekhavāhana for Mahāmeghavāhana, it may be pointed out that the use of mekha for megha is a well-known characteristic of the Paišācī form of Prakrit speech. We know that Paišācī characteristics are noticed

⁴ Cf Vararuci's Prākrtaprakāśa, X.3—vargānām trūya-caturthayor=ayujor=anādyor=ādyau



Zampi Inscription (pp. 29, 288-89



Guntupally Inscriptions of Sada (p. 35)

in the Prakrit inscriptions of North-Western and Southern India probably due to Iranian and Dravidian influence.⁵

As we have seen, the inscription records the gift of a mandapa which is a word of ambiguous import. It is difficult to say whether the word has been used here to indicate a porch or hall or a temple or public building.

It is well known to the students of the Hathigumpha inscription that Kharavela led an expedition against Asikanagara (Rşikanagara) on the Kṛṣṇavenā probably in the dominions of the contemporary Satavahana king Śātakarni. He is also stated to have destroyed Prthūda (probably near Masulipatam) and fought with the Pandya king. Khāravela is again believed by some scholars to have come into contact with the Tramira-desa (Tamil country). Under these circumstances, Mahāmeghavāhana rule in the West Godavari District is easily intelligible. What is, however, more interesting in this connection is that, a few years ago, we published an inscription of about the 2nd century A.D. from Velpuru in the Guntur District of Andhra Pradesh,8 and this epigraph speaks of a Mahārāja Hārītīputra Mānasada of the Aira (Ārya) family of the Gālava-gotra. It was pointed out that king Khāravela also claimed to be an Aira (though he did not claim the Galava-gotra) and that there may have been some sort of relationship between the king of the Velpuru inscription and the Aira kings of Kalinga. It was also observed that, unlike the Śatavahanas who claimed to be Rajan, both Khāravela and Mānasada assumed the title Mahārāja. The Airas of Guntur were apparently ousted by the later

⁵ Sircar, A Grammar of the Prakrit Language, p 94

⁶ For the various meanings of the word, see Sircar, Ind. Ep Gloss, pp. 195-96

⁷ Sircar, Select Inscriptions, pp. 213 ff

⁸ See Ep Ind., Vol XXXII, pp 88 ff.

Satavahanas probably during the reign of Vasisthīputra Puļumāvi about the middle of the second century A.D. It is now easy to connect Sada of the Guntupally inscription with Mānasada of the Velpuru epigraph which, being written in a hybrid alphabet employing signs both earlier and later than the Velpuru inscription, may be assigned to a later date.

The name Sada borne by the Mahāmeghavāhana ruler mentioned in the Guntupally inscription and the latter part of the name of Mānasada of the Velpuru inscription may really be Śāta which is known to have been used as a contraction of the typical Śātavāhana names, Śātavāhana and Śātakani. The name Śāta occurs on certain Śātavāhana coins, while the name of the compiler of the Gāthā Saptaśatī, i.e. Hāla, stands for Śāla (Śālavāhana) - Śāta (Śātavāhana). If it is admitted that the rulers mentioned in the Guntupally and Velpuru inscriptions bear Śātavāhana names, the characteristic may be attributed to the fact that the said rulers were born of Śātavāhana princesses. 10

The great importance of the Guntupally inscription lies in its pelaeography and in the fact that it proves the control of the Mahāmeghavāhanas of Kalinga over the West Godavari District in the early centuries of the Christian era. I find it difficult to accept Dr. Subrahmanyam's statement that the empire of Khāravela's Śātavāhana

¹⁰ Note the typical Rāṣṭrakūṭa name Dantivarman in the Pallava dynasty due to the fact that the said Pallava king was born of the daughter of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dantivarman II (Dantidurga). A Pāla ruler seems to have been called Hāravarṣa probably because his mother was a princess of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family, in which we have many varṣa-ending names (IHQ, Vol. XXV, 1949, pp. 132 ff.).



⁹ For coins bearing the name of Sata, see Rapson's Catalogue of Coins, p. 1.

contemporary (whom he calls 'Śātakarņi III') comprised 'the entire Dakṣiṇāpatha including the east coast'. 11

TEXT¹⁹

No. 1

- l Mah[a]rajasa Kaliga-Mah[i]
- 2 sak-ādhipatisa [Ma]hāme-
- 3 [kha]vāhanasa siri-Sada-
- 4 [sa] le[khakasa] C[ū]la-Go-
- 5 masa madapo dānam (//*)

No. 2

- 1 Mahārājasa Kaliga-Mahisak-[ā]-
- 2 dhipatisa Mahāmekhavā[ha]-
- 3 nasa siri-Sadasa lekha-18
- 4 kasa Cula-Gomasa mam-
- 5 dapo dānam (/ /*)

No. 3

- l Mahārajasa Kaligā-
- 2 Mahisak-ādhipadisa Ma-
- 3 hāmekhavāhanasa
- 4 siri-Sadasā lekha-
- 5 kasa Cula-[G]omasa mada-
- 6 po dānam (/ /*)

¹¹ See op. cit., p. 6.

^{→ 12} From the illustrations published by Dr. Subrahmanyam.

¹³ A little space at the end of the line seems to have been damaged even at the time of the incision of the record.

No. 4

- Mahārājasa Kaliga-Ma-
- 2 hisak-ādhipatisa Maha-
- 3 mākhavāhanasa siri-Sa-
- 4 dasa lekhakasa Cula-Go-
- 5 masa madapo dānam (/ /*)

Translation

[This] maṇdapa is the gift of Cūla-Goma (the Younger Goma), [who is] the scribe of the illustrious Sada, the Mahāmeghavāhana Mahārāja [and] the lord of Kalinga and Mahisaka.

2. Buddhist Dharanis from China in Inscriptions and Manuscripts

I

In his interesting work entitled Siddham, 14 R. H. van Gulik observes, "While the study of Sanskrit language never flourished in China or Japan, 15 the Indian script—a variety of Brāhmī, called Siddham 16—played an important role in Far Eastern Buddhism ever since the introduction of this script into China in the 8th century A.D. The Siddham

¹⁴ International Academy of Indian Culture, Nagpur, 1956.

¹⁵ Chinese monks were often described as 'thoroughly conversant with the Sanskrit language', though this meant only that they had mastered the Indian script (van Gulik, op. cit., p. 13). Most of the so-called Chinese 'translators' of the Indian sūtras were really transcribers of dhāranīs in Chinese writing (ibid., p. 25). A few Chinese scholars, however, had satisfactory knowledge of the Sanskrit language (ibid., p. 102). For some Sino-Sanskrit lexicons, meant for those Chinese monks who wanted to go to India, see P. C. Bagchi, Deaux Lexiques Sanskrit-Chinols, Vol. I (1929) and Vol. II (1937).

¹⁶ The Siddham was really not a variety, but a derivative of Brāhmī, prevalent in North India during the early medieval period from the 7th to the 9th century (cf van Gulik, op. cit., p. 55)

script owed its popularity in China and Japan, especially to the rise of the Mantrayana, the esoteric School of the True Word. It was used in particular for writing dhāraņī and mantra, and for the magic syllables known as bijākṣara or germ-letters¹⁷......the latter figure largely in the Vajra-dhātu and the Garbha-dhātu, the two magic charts that contain the essence of the teachings of the Mantrayana....."18 The learned author further a says, "Orientalists are generally agreed that there exist only three living scripts in the world of such intrinsic artistic value as to deserve a place in the realm of fine art, and which are indeed considered on a par with painting in those countries where those scripts are in use. These are the script of China, Japan and Arabia. The Siddham script as it was developed in China and Japan, in my opinion, qualifies for being added as a fourth to the three others mentioned here."19

I-tsing speaks of the 'Siddha-composition for Beginners' or the 'Siddham Writing Tables', also called Siddhir = astu, the title meaning 'success and good luck', **o while the script alluded to is undoubtedly the same as Siddhamātṛkā, mentioned by Al-Bīrūnī as prevalent in Northern India.**

¹⁷ They represent the essence of each particular deity and often also indicate the essence of a particular sūtra, mantra or dhāraṇī (van Gulık, op. cit., p. 78, and Plates 45-46). Thus bhai=Bhaiṣajyaguru, vi=Vināyaka, va=Varuṇa, etc., are easily intelligible; but many of the germ-letters are based on mystic consideration and are not so easily understood; e.g., aḥ=Amoghasiddhi, hūm=Akṣobhya, trāh=Ratna-sambhava, hrīḥ=Amitābha, ma=Nārāyaṇa, gha=Kumāra, etc. (ibid., pp. 78 ff.) Of course aḥ may be related to the first letter of the name of Amoghasiddhi.

¹⁸ Op. cit., p. 5.

¹⁹ *Ibld.*, p. 6.

²⁰ A Record of the Buddhist Religion, trans. Takakusu, pp. 170-71; van Gulik, op. cit., p. 54.

²¹ Sachau, Alberuni's India, Vol. I, p. 173.

The Chinese had been familiar with the Taoist spells long before they were acquainted with the Buddhist mantras and dharanis; they knew that, for being effective, a charm has to be written accurately.22 The Siddham script was popular for writing dhāranīs in China during the period 600-1000 A.D., the heyday of Chinese Tantrism falling in the T'ang period (618-907 A.D.). Vajrabodhi, son of a Central Indian king named Iśanavarman, translated into Chinese the Vajrasekhara-sūtra, the counterpart of the Mahāvairocana-sūtra, in 723 A.D. These two sūtras played an important part in the history of the Siddham script in China and Japan.²⁸ The Tantrik adept Amoghavajra, patriarch of the 'Secret Sect' or of the 'Doctrine of the True Word,' produced a fuller translation of the Vajrašekhara-sūtra in the second quarter of the eighth century. Subhakarasimha, Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra were responsible for the popularity of the script.24 Chihkuang's 'Record of the Siddham Script' was composed about the close of the eighth century. 95 Mantrayana and the Siddham script continued to progress during Northern Sung period (960-1127 A.D.) and, in the reign of emperor Jen-tsang (1023-62 A.D.), the last elaborate treatise of Siddham ('Compendium of Indian Writing compiled during the Ching-yu Era') was completed.26

In 1946, Walter Liebenthal discovered, in certain temples in the Yunnan Province (S.W. China), built between 800 and 1200 A.D., bricks bearing magic formulae in the Siddham script. He also obtained, from a monk, a Chinese block-print containing Sanskrit magic formulae dated

²² See van Gulik, op. cit., pp. 46-47.

²³ Ibid., p. 49.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 53.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 22.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 91.

·1573 A.D.²⁷ A stone tablet, said to have been found in the Shao-lin temple on the Sung mountain in the Honan Province, is stated to contain the engraved text of the *Uṣṇṣṣavijaya-dhāraṇī*, which is known to have been available in several versions.²⁸

11

An inscription in the Siddham script, engraved on an octagonal pillar erected in 1104 A.D. is stated to have been found by Raghu Vira at the village of Hsuan-wu in the Lo yang District, China. It was noticed and illustrated in 'Prof. Raghu Vira's Expedition to China' and P. N. Oak's Some Blunders of Indian Historical Research, Delhi, 1966, p. 297. It is incised in thirteen lines which are vertical in the fashion of Chinese writing. If Walter Liebenthal and Raghu Vira speak of two different stone inscriptions, it has to be admitted that a short version of the Uṣṇṣavijaya-dhāraṇī was popular and was often engraved on stone in China.

The Hsuan-wu pillar inscription contains a condensed text of the *Uṣṇiṣavijaya-dhāraṇi* which occurs in the Buddhist canon in several versions, as already indicated above. The epigraphic text runs as follows:—

- 1 namo bhagavate trailokya-prativišis[tā]ya Vu(Bu)-ddhāya bhagava[te ta*]-
- 2 d = yathā O \dot{m} viśodhaya sama-samabhāva-bhāsa-spharaṇa-gati-gaha(ga)[na]-

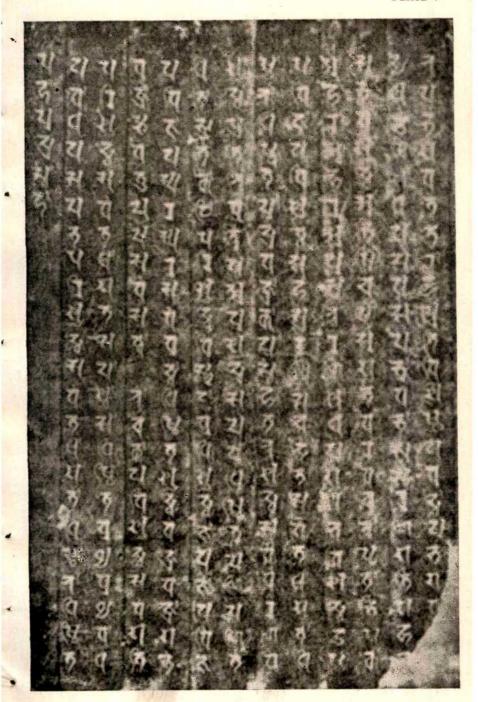
²⁷ See Monumenta Serica, Vol. XII, Peking, 1947; van Gulik, op. cit., p. 59.

²⁸ Shina-bunka-shiseki, Vol. II, Plate 99; van Gulik, op. cit., p. 77. For the Uşnişavijaya-dhāranī and the Prajñāpāramitāhṛdaya-sūtra, see Annecdota Oxoniensia, Aryan Series, Vol. I, Part III, Oxford, 1884; also van Gulik. op. cit., pp. 56, 73-74, 76-77.

- 3 svabhāva-śuddhe abhişimcaya Sugata-vara-vacanāmṛt-ābhiṣeke
- 4 āhara āhara āyu(ḥ*)-sandhāraṇi śodhaya ga[ga]na-viśuddhe uṣṇī-
- 5 şavijaya-viśuddhe sahasra-raśmi-samce(co)dite sarva-Tathāgat-ādhi-
- 6 sthän-adhisthita-mudre vajra-kaya-samhatana-suddhe sarva(rv-a)varana-vi-
- 7 śuddhe pratinivarttaya āyu(h*)-śuddha-samay-ādhisthite mani-manita-
- 8 dha(dhr)t-āmbhu(dbhu)ta-koṭi-pariśuddhe visphuṭavudhi(buddhi) śuddhe jaya jaya vija-
- 9 ya vijaya smara smara sarva-Vu(Bu)ddh-ādhisthitaśuddha-vajra vajra-garbha
- 10 vajram = bhavatu mama sarva-satvā(ttvā)nām ca kāya-viśuddhe sarva-gati-
- Il parišuddhe sarva-Tathāgata-samāśvās-ādhiṣṭhite vu (bu)dhya vu(bu)dhya vo(bo)dha-
- 12 ya vo(bo)dhaya samabha(ya)-pariśuddhe sarva-Tathāgat-ādhiṣṭhān-ādhiṣṭhita-
- 13 mahāmudr[e] svāhā (//*)

The above may be compared with the following text of the dhāraṇi in Dharmarakṣa's version—Om namo bhagavate sarva-trailokya-prativiśiṣṭāya Buddhāya bhagavate namaḥ tad = yathā Om bhrūm bhrūm bhrūm śodhaya śodhaya viśodhaya viśodhaya asama-samant-āvabhāsa - spharaṇa - gati-gagana - svabhāva-viśuddhe abhiṣiñcyantu mām sarva-Tathāgata - Sugata - vara - vacan - āmṛt-ābhiṣekair = mahāmudrā - mantrapadaiḥ Om āhara āhara āyuḥ-samdharaṇi śodhaya śodhaya viśodhaya viśodhaya gagana-svabhāva-viśuddhe uṣṇiṣavijaya-pariśuddhe sahasraraśmi-sañcodite sarva-Tathāgat-āvalokini ṣaṭ - pāramitā - paripūraṇi sarva - Tathāgata - māte daśabhūmi - pratiṣṭḥīte sarva - Tathāgatā mama hṛday-ādhiṣṭhān-ādhiṣṭhite Om mudre mudre mahāmudre vajra-kāya-samhatana-

ł



Heuan wu Inscription containing Dharani (n. 39)

天皇山全河寺沙門 造風 **凡你誦持能羅尼察史者先須公** 正坐結付安心然後手能等法 東阿口編其明二十一 題真首日 海鹿っち・下 次誦議身真言二十一通結四部 馬言自日 帝 废母 子子 文誦六字大明真言一百八通真 الا حداد 海廣社益部盆北 学式侧耳及 已上三門刀懷靈應注如本經濟 就法後誦作提真言與一字大翰 况一題同霸一百八 通七俱股係 守公大准規他羅用真言日 前無聽軍衛三該三菩眼俱服衛 **よ 他 丸 気 丸 池 祖 九 引 ろ ろ み 方** 担你也他牵折縣王衛准提等策 正到现悉正正正式完之可不 佛言此明能減十麼五姓一切罪 降成亂一切白法刀後持此既者 不附在東出家飲酒个內有妻子 不按海旗但点心持誦能使短命 東生增奪死皇巡摩羅來尚侍除 差何况蘇賴不清差死有是 處若 請請四十九日准児菩薩ト

Dharants in Siddham and Chinese Scripts-Print No. 1 (p. 43)

sarva-karm-āvarana-visuddhe pratinivartaya parisuddhe ayur-visuddhe mahasamay-adhisthan-adhisthite Om muni mahāmuni vimuni vimuni mahāvimuni mati mati mahāmati mamati mahāmamati sumati tathāta bhūta-koti-parisuddhe buddhi-suddhe Om he he jaya jaya vijaya vijeya smara smara sphara sphara spharaya spharaya sarva-Buddh-adhisthan-adhistite Om suddhe suddhe vajre vajre mahavajre suvajre vajra-garbhe jaya - garbhe vijaya - garbhe vajra - jvala - garbhe vajrodbhavaa vajrasambhave vajre vajre(jri)ņi vajram bhavatu mama sarīram sarva-sattvānān = ca kāya-parišuddhis = ca bhavantu me siddhih sarvag-ātiparišuddhiš = ca sarvatathāgatāš = ca samāšvāsayantu budhya budhya sidhya sidhya bodhaya bodhaya vibodhaya mocaya mocaya vimocaya vimocaya śodhaya śodhaya viśodhaya viśodhaya samanta mocaya mocaya samantaraśmi-pariśuddhe sarva-Tathagata mama hiday-adhisthan-adhisthite Om mudre mahamudre mantrapade svāhā / /29

III

I was deputed by the Government of India to deliver lectures at the Oriental Faculty of some of the Universities in the U.S.S.R. in 1961 and, in that connection, was staying at Moscow in the months of November and December of that year. At that time, a young Russian student of Chinese phonology met me with some photographs of manuscript pages containing Buddhist dhān anis written in the Siddham script together with their Chinese transliteration. The youngman requested me to prepare transcripts of the Siddham texts and supply him with copies so that he could complete his study of the Chinese portion. His idea was that we two should write jointly on the said texts and submit our joint paper to the International Congress of

²⁹ Cf. van Gulik, op. cit., pp. 76-77. The language is corrupt Sanskrit as usual. We have corrected a few palpable errors.

Orientalists to be held in New Delhi in January 1964. I agreed and, on my return to Calcutta, sent my transcripts of the dhāraṇīs to the said youngman. Unfortunately, I did not hear from him thereafter and do not know whether his paper on the subject was published in Russian. He did not probably attend the New Delhi session of the International Congress of Orientalists. 50

About the beginning of 1963, I casually came across copies of my transcripts of the said dhāranī texts in an old file and discussed them at the Monthly Seminar of the Centre of Advanced Study in Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University, held on the 18th January, 1968. The interest they invoked among the participants of the Seminar being considerable, I was then thinking of publishing them and sent the photographs to Prof. Tan-yun Shan, retired Director of the China Bhavan of the Visva-Bharati, Santiniketan, to examine the Chinese part and to prepare a note on it. Prof. Shan, who followed the Wade-Giles system of transliteration with slight modification, gave me the contents of the Chinese parts of the records, consisting of fourteen texts in all, as follows - I. Ch'i-chou (Initial Incantation), II. Hu-shen Chen-yen (Body-protection Dharani), III. Lin-tzu Ta-Ming Chen-yen (Şadaksara-vidyamantra), IV. Ch'i-chu-chih (ti?) Fu-mu-hsin Ta-Chun-t'e To-lo-ni Chen-yen (Sapta-koți-Buddha-matr-Mahacandi-dharani or Candidevidhāranī), V. Chin-kang Sa-t'o Pe-tzu-chou (Vajrasattva Hundred-word Dharani), VI. Shih-erh Yin-yuan-chou (Dvādaśānga-Pratītyasamutpāda-dhāraņī), VII. Nil, VIII. Ta-pao-lou-ko

3

³⁰ I am not sure if I remember the youngman's name correctly. But it may be M. W. Sofronov who was then probably working at the Institut Narodov Azii, Armyanskiy per. 2, Moscow, Central. I remember vaguely to have been told by the youngman that the originals of the photographs belonged to the late medieval period and were secured from Mongolia.

Sui-hsin-chou (Mahāmaṇi-vipula-vimāna-visva-supratiṣthita-guhya-hāraṇī), IX. Tsun-sheng-hsin-chou (Supreme Hṛdaya-dhāraṇī), X A-mi-t'o-fu Hsin-chou (Amitābha-buddha-hṛdaya-dhāraṇī), XI. A-mi-t'o-fu Yi-tzu-chou (Amitābha-buddha one-word Dhāraṇī), XII. Chih-chu Ju-lai-hsin P'o-ti-yū-chou (Jñānaprabha tathāgata-hṛdaya-dhāraṇī) for breaking the Hell, XIII. Wen-shu-Pu-sa Wu-tzu Hsin-chou (Mañjuśrī-bodhisattva Five-word Hṛdaya-dhāraṇī), and XIV. Pi-lu-che-na-fu Ta-kuan-ting Kuang-chou (Vairocana-buddha-abhiṣecana [mūrdhābhiṣikta?]-dhāraṇī).

The photographs are six in number and the lines of writing in both the Siddham and Chinese scripts are vertical. The formation of the aksaras is more careful in some than in others. Print No. 1 exhibits defective writing.

The texts of the dhāraṇīs on the photographs are transcribed below.

Print No. 1

Sanskrit Text

Ι

1 Ūṁ Rṁ

H

2 Um chrim

III

3 Um manipadme hūm

IV

- 4 namo(maḥ) sapta(ptā)nāṁ Sāṁ(Sa)myaksaṁvu(bu)-dhdha(ddha)-kuya(koṭĩ)nāṁ
- 5 vacya(tad = ya)thā Um ca te cu tre cum pā svā-
- 6 hã Ūm

- I. Initial Incantation (Ch'i-chou)
 - l An [Kai (Ho?) or Yi (Yeh?)]

- II. Body-protection Dharani (Hu-shen Chen-yen)
 - 2 An Ch'ih-lin
- III. Şadakşara-vidyā-mantra or Six-word Spell (Lin-tzu Ta-Ming Chen-yen)
 - 3 An Mo-mi-po-[na-ming] Hung
- IV. Saptakoți-Buddha-mātţ-'Mahā-Tchundi'- dhāraṇī (Ch'i chuchih (ti?) Fu-mu-hsin Ta-Chun-t'e To-lo-ni Chen-yen)
 - 4 Nan-mo Sa-to-nan San-miao-san-p'u-t'o-Chü-chih-nan
 - 5 Ta-ni-yeh-ta An Che ** chu ** Chun-t'i-sa-p'o-
 - 6 ho [Pu-lin]

N.B.—Section IV (lines 4-6) are also reproduced in Print No. 2. It is possible to think that Prof. Tan-yun Shan's 'Tchundī' is Caṇḍī and not Cundā. In the Sādhanamālā (ed. B. Bhattacharya, G.O.S., p. 325), the passage tasyai śrāvaka-bodhisattva-gaṇino Buddhasya mātre namaḥ refers to Prajñā-pāramitā.

Print No. 2

Sanskrit Text

- 1 namo(maḥ) sapta(ptā)nām Sām(Sa)myaksamvu(bu)-dhdha(ddha)-kuya(koṭī)nām
- 2 vacya(tad = ya)thā Um ca te tu tre cum pa svā-
- 3 hā Ūm

N.B.—This text is a duplicate copy of section IV (lines 4-6) on Print No. 1.

Print No. 3

Sanskrit Text

ν

- 1 Om Vajrasatva(ttva)-samayam = a-
- 2 nupālaya Vajrasa(ttva)-
- 3 tven = opatistha dr-
- 4 dho me bhava subhāyyo(tosyo) me bhava su-

- - 5 yoyyo(posyo) me ca(bha)va anurakto
 - 6 me ca(bha)va sarva-siddhi[m]
 - 7 me prayaccha sarva-karma-
 - 8 su ca me cittam cistam(śrcyah) ma(ku)-
 - 9 ru hūm ha ha ha ha hoḥ bhagavam(van)
 - 10 sarva-Tathāgata vajra(m*)
 - 11 ma(mā) me muñca vaijrībhaṭa(va) ma-
 - 12 hāsamayasatva(ttva) āh

VI

- 13 Om Ye dharmā hetu-pra-
- 14 bhavā hetun = tesān = Tathāga-

- V. Vajrasattva Hundred word Dhāraṇī (Chin-kang Sa t'o Pe-tzu-chou)
 - l An Mo-[che-lo]-sa-to-sa-ma-yeh ma-
 - 2 * * po-la-yeh Mo-[che-lo]-so-to-
 - 3 [te-yung] na-po-ti-[shih-ta Neng-ling]-
 - 4 nang Ming Mo-[kuan(wo?)] Hsü-to-shang Ming
 - 5 po-shang Ming Mo-kuan(wo?) A-[kuan(wo?)]-lo ch'i-to
 - 6 ming mo-[kuan (wo?)] sa-ling-mo-si * * ming
 - 7 [Pu-lo]-yeh-tsan sa-[ling-mo]-ko[ling-ma]-
 - 8 hsü tsan ming chih-ta [shih-li]-yang chua-
 - 9 lu Hung ho ho ho ho ho Mo-o-k'uan
 - 10 Sa-[ling-mo]-ta-ta-o-ta Mo- [che-lo]
 - 11 Ma Ming Men-tsan Mo-che-li-mo[kuan(wo)?] Ma-
 - 12 ho-sa-ma-yeh-sa-to ya
 - VI. Dvādašānga pratītyasamutpāda dhāraņī (Shih erh Yinyuan-chou)
 - 13 An Ying Na-[ling-ma] Hsing-[ko(ch'ioh)]-[pu-lo]-
 - 14 mo-[kuan(wo?)] Hing-[ko(ch'ioh)] Ting-p'u Ta-ta-o-
 - 15 to Hsieh-mo-na-ta Ting-p'u-tsan yang Ni-
 - N.B.—The text is continued on the next Print (No. 4). Lines

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I-12 constitute the celebrated sat-ākṣara-mantra quoted in the Sādhanamālā (pp. 28, 74, 119, 145, 295, 398) as follows—Om Vajrasattva-samayam—anupālaya Vajrasattvatven—opatisti dīdho me bhava sutoṣyo me bhava supoṣyo me bhava anurakto bhava sarva-siddhim me prayaccha sarva-karmasu me cittam śrenkuru kuru hum ha ha ha ha hoh Bhagavan Sarva-Tathāgata vajra (m*) mā me munca vajrībhava mahāsamaya-sattva āh.

The first sign of Hsu-po-shang (suposyo) and Mo-wo are not transliterated in Prof. Tan-yun Shan's transcript. What Prof. Shan has read as kuan (wo?) in lines 4, 5, 6, 11 and 14 must be wo and not kuan because it is the transliteration of the Sanskrit letter va. The same syllable occurs also in Print No. 4, line 16, and Print Vo. 5 (XIV), line 13.

Print No. 4

(Continuation from Print No. 3, Section VI)

Sanskrit Text

15 to = 'vadat teşām ca yo nirodha evamvā(vam-vā)dī Mahāśramanaya(nah) svāhā

- 16 lang-na ying-k'uan-[kuan (wo?)]- [ni] Ma- ho-
- 17 shih-lo-ma-na-ying so-ho
- N.B.—Lines 13-14 of Section VI of Print No. 3 together with line 15 on this Print (No. 4) constitute the well-known Buddhist formula called *Pratītyasamutpāda-sūtra* found in innumerable Indian records, especially on Buddha images. Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 220 ff.
- It will be seen that there is slight difference in the alignment of the *Pratītyasamutpāda-sūtra* in the Sanskrit and Chinese texts. Prof. Tan-yun Shan says that there is an incomplete text (Section VII) after Section VI on Print No. 4 which, however, does not show any part of a dhāranī.

Print No. 5 Sanskrit Text

VIII

1 Om Manidhari hūm phat

IX

2 Om Rm svāhā

2

 \mathbf{X}

- 3 Om amrna(ta)-teje bhara
- 4 kūm (hum)

XI

Hrih

XII

- 5 namra(ma) aşţa(şţā)śīnī(tī)nā(m*)
- 6 Samyaksamvu(bu)ddha-kotīnī(nām)
- 7 Om jña (jñā)n-āvābhāsi dhi-
- 8 ri dhiri hūm

XIII

9 Arapacana

XIV

- 10 Om Amoghavairocana
- 11 mahāmudrā-maņi-
- 12 padma jvala pra-
- 13 varttaya hūm
- 14 namah saptānām Samyaksamvu(bu)

- VIII. Mahāmaṇi-vipula vimāna visva supratisthita guhyadhāraṇi (Ta-pao-lou-ko Sui-hsin-chou)
 - l An Ma-ni-na-li Hung Fa-ta
- IX. Supreme Hidaya-dharani (Tsun-sheng-hsin-chou)
 - 2 An [Mo-lung] so-ho

- X. Amitābha-buddha-hīdaya dhāranī (A mi t'o- fu Hsin chou)
 - 3 An A-[mi-li]-ta-teh-ching Ho-lo
 - 4 Hung
- XI. Amitābha Buddha One word Dhāraṇī (A-mi-t'o-fu Yi-tzu-chou)
- XII. Jāānaprabha-tathāgata-hīdaya dhāranī for Breaking the Hell (Chih-chu Ju-lai-hsin P'o-ti-yu-chou)
 - 5 Na-ma A-[shih-ta]- shih-ti-nan
 - 6 Sa mieh-san-mo-na-kuang-ti-nan
 - 7 An yeh-na- [wo]- mo-si Ni-
 - 8 li Ni-li Hung
- XIII. Mañjuśri-b dhisattva Five-word Hidaya-dharani (Wen-shu-P'u-sa Wu-tzu Hsin-chou)
 - 9 A-lo-po-tsan-na
- XIV. Vairocana-Buddha mūrdh ābhişikta dhāraṇī (Pi-lu-chena-fu Ta-kuan-ting Kuang-chou)
 - 10 An A-mo-o-mei-lo-tsan-na
 - 11 Ma-ho-mu- [neng-lo] Ma-ni-
 - 12 po-neng-ma Ts'o-la [Pu-lo]-
 - 13 [kuan (wo?)] [ling-ta]-yeh Hung

N.B.—For line 1 (Section VIII), cf. Maṇidhari Vajriṇi rakṣa rakṣa māṁ huṁ phaṭ svāhā in the Sādhanamālā, op. cit., p. 44, and Maṇidhari vajriṇi Mahāpratisare huṁ huṁ phaṭ, ibid., pp. 396, 406. Section XI seems to remain blank in the Chinese text. For lines 7-8 (Section XII), cf. Oṁ picu picu prajñāvardhani jvala jvala medhā-vardhani dhiri dhiri buddhi-vardhani svāhā, ibid., p. 340. For line 9 (Section XIII), cf. Oṁ Arpacana muḥ, ibid., p. 94, and for lines 10 ff. (Section XIV), cf. Vairocana mahāmudre jvāla pravarttaya Hūṁ in the illustration of a Siddham spell in van Gulik's Siddham, p. 182.

Line 14 of the Sanskrit part is the same as the beginning of Section IV on Print No. 1. It is incomplete.

王 班 刘 兄 元 犯 犯 記 召 召 吾 及 元 但你也的婚好縣主教准提等獎 五到现第工匠又员,又田原 佛言此既能減十麼五姓一切罪 切自法四種特此以者 不問在家出家該酒面內有妻子 不快海鐵但長二样誦能使短命 東生增奪死量巡摩羅疾尚得除 差何沉蘇賴不消差死有是處若 籍蒲四十九日准提菩薩今二題 者常随其人所有善恶心之所念 侍耳邊一一具報差有死 福死 相 求官不變貧苦所逼者常誦此 哭 能合現世待翰王福所求官 在处 揮傷造者求智惠得大智是來勇 女者便得男女凡有所求死不釋 逐似如意珠一切随心又誦此此 能今國王大目及諸四東生寶張 公見即後善韻此死人水不能 銷 火不能疑棄鎮定與軍障強殃及 **聚龍歐緒 照胜等 皆不能 昏者 飲** 請梵王帝釋四天王問羅天子等 但霸此咒隨諸处至不敢前次所 有無使閱心皆得十番日者所謂一 **「日八日十四日十五日十八日二十三日二** 中田日二十八日二十九月三十月

PLATE VII

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放商鋁來幹 全刚连接百字况 SH TO BREET TO S **で木川軍心産出 往床也** 者是人亦不安看食 ·養名末幹 項多有数末幹 能源者其有戴 字大明是 **करावस्**र ā Ši 呼ばせなぎ 末幹 舊吟京八西烟 不形像不处書 馬此六字 可以此思 व व व व R R R R R R 阿勒拉亞 田文 1 स्य 麻 म्

麻~ 浜指的即也食 干二因練児 स्य 鹽珍末紅也達引 過也 म्य 麻蛇門司抄不明四八本幹 為教育行 多城木旅楼的有等一种中性 本幹部為行為打各日但通用 **专英指珍珠** かぶるろろる頭方でも ないな いき はな お見 য্ৰ **桂麻也僅出亞縣** 叶 前前河河 和末语 THUT TO BE Non Make 多な記 त्व य का स ধ্য ग्त ₹ त्रं

Dhāraṇīs in Siddham and Chinese Scripts-Print No. 3: Right and Left Halves (p. 44)

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力倭霸汪慶成为李县有真九管子等项居法领安置亲有真九管子等项居法领客置靠于于苦你像安置合利如芬茂法国县直 喜大沙門怨翁法姓林起 如枣然是因为我就是 如枣然是因为有强罚而强罚罪罪即是省司不要,可谓周嗣 虽有只在婚类为。

酒界中晒红雨 於寶宝馬應的千芒是以羅身宴客蓋如千芒是以羅身宴客 接万類法學樂相裁 豫而某聞至道無私赴 歲而題 豪児圆因往生等 雖 Dharanis in Siddham and Chinese Scripts-Print No. 4 (p. 46)

उँ म् 智非如枣心破地飲 咒 **而阿弥陀佛一字** 耳膀心咒 阿林脂佛心弘 切在京江世 स् अ् 胡司桥川幹木回 加西百五四四 門查問石低日 三其味光低引 松蛛 ê ના स a 4 ন श् व् ग 矿林 里 म क त्र A ST न् स 4 र् বি IF. 滩

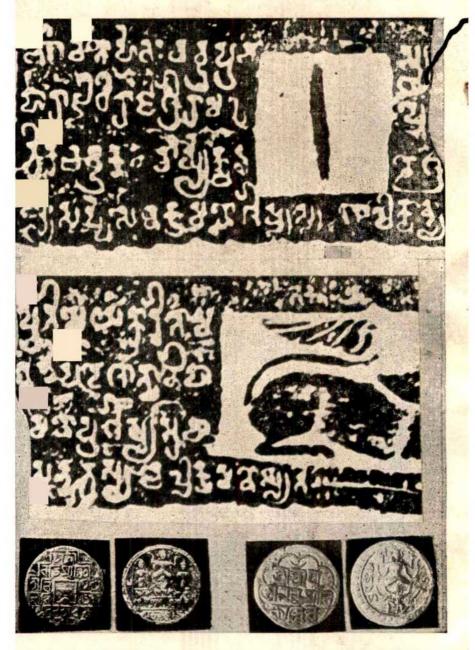
Dharanis in Siddham and Chinese Scripts—Print No. 5 · Right and Left Halves (p. 47)

に 足強。本 FK味いた 文明 公多 机木木 內容縣 IGNA KAMAN 村三长,永 前每果仁但通吟的 元医城南 二十百日 南 CATA M

PLATE X

Dharanis in Siddham and Chinese Scripts-Print No. 6 (p. 49)

苦 15



Figs. 1-2 - Vidiśā Inscriptions of Rāmagupta: Left and Right Halves (p. 150)

Figs. 3-4 -Coin of Vijayamāņikya: Obverse and Reverse (p. 25)

Figs. 5-6 - Coin of Anantamanikva: Obverse and Reverse (p. 28)

Print No. 6

Sanskrit Text

- 1 🕽 amo Ratna-trayāya nama Ā-
- 2 rya-Amitābhāya Tathāga-
- 3 tāya Arhate Samyaksamvu(bu)ddhā-
- 4 ya la(ta)d = yathā $O\dot{m}$ amrve(te)
- 5 amr[t-o]dbhave amr-
- 6 ta-satve(ttve) amrca(ta)-garbhe
- 7 amṛta-siddhe amṛta-
- 8 vaje(jre) amṛta-vikrā-
- 9 nte amṛta-vikrānta

N.B.—This is incomplete. As regards the corresponding Chinese text, Prof. Tan-yun Shan says that it is fragmentary without any context, title, beginning and end.

For lines 4-8, cf. Om amite amit-oddhave amita-cakrānte amita-gātre amita-gāmini amit-āyur = dade gagana kīrtikari sarva-kleša-kṣayankarīye svāhā in the Sādhanamālā, p. 418.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE ON CREMATION AND POST-CREMATION BURIAL IN INDIA

D. R. DAS

In modern times, among the Brahmanised Hindus, the only recognised method of disposal of the dead is cremation. It is, however, doubtful whether the idea of burning the dead was brought to India by the so-called invading Aryans. O. Schrader¹ refers to the primitive thought that cremation opens for the dead person the entrance into a paradise beyond; but he is not certain that the custom of burning the corpse originated among the 'Aryans' and spread 'wave-like' in different directions. So far as India is concerned, Keith² rightly holds that the idea of burning as necessary to take the soul to heaven is not Vedic, the Rgveda referring to both the burnt and unburnt dead as going to heaven. There is also archaeological evidence to show that burning was practised in pre-Vedic India.

As it seems, in the period of the Rgveda and Atharvaveda, burial and burning were the two methods of disposing the dead. Gradually cremation prevailed upon burial. Thus, from the time of the Yajurveda down to the ages of the Āraņyaka and the Śrautasūtra, cremation was followed by the burying of burnt bones and ashes. In the Grhya period, post-cremation burial began to decline and finally, in the post-Grhya period, it became obsolete.

The five funeral hymns that occur in the Rgveda* seem

¹ ERE, Vol. II, s.v. 'Aryan Religion', 'Realms of the Dead' (also 'Burial' and 'Burning of the Corpse').

² The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and the Upanisads, p. 417.

³ See infra.

⁴ X. 14.1-6; 15.1-14; 16.1-14; 17.3-6; 18.1-14.

to suggest that, when a corpse was cremated, a goat or a cow or both were burnt along with it. At the time of cremation, Pūṣan, Vāyu, Agni and Savitr were invoked for the protection of the dead man and for transferring him to the world of the pitrs. A lump of earth placed between the village where the deceased dwelt and the cemetery, as a rampart against death. A prayer was offered for the long life and prosperity of the kinsmen of the deceased and also for the occurrence of death in such a way that each generation should die in the order it was born and that a son should not die before his father.

From the later texts⁵ it appears that sometimes the hair on the head, lips and body of the deceased was cut off and his nails pared and entrails taken out. The anustaraṇī (cow or she-goat) that was killed was placed limb by limb on the corresponding limbs of the dead body and the whole thing was covered by the animal's hide.

Cremation of the corpse was followed by the collection of the calcined bones and their final deposition into the earth. The ceremony was known as asthisañcayana. The bones were collected in a jar by women and buried under an earthen mound. The raised sepulchre was surrounded by pegs.

Finally, the sacrificer deposited a clod midway between the grave and the village so that a boundary was raised between the Fathers and the living.

In course of time, the practice of post-cremation burial gave way to the custom of casting the collected bones of a cremated corpse in the Ganges as the final act in the

⁵ See Kane, History of Dharmasāstra, Vol. IV, pp. 189 ff.; Colebrooke, Eassays on the Religion and Philosophy of the Hindus, pp. 97ff.; D. R. Sastri, Origin and Development of Ancestor-worship in India.

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disposal of the dead body. The Visnudharmasūtra⁶ and the Mahābhārata⁷ extoll the latter practice on the ground that as many particles of the bones of a man remain in the Ganges for so many thousands of years he dwells in heaven.

Cremation of the dead body was known in the Tamil land from very early times. Reference to it occurs in the Sangam literature. Thus the Manimekhalai, while describing the great grave-yard of Puhār or Kāvīrippūmpaṭṭinam refers to those who cremated (śuduvor) dead bodies there. Pereyin Muruvalur also refers to cremation (sūduka). The Puṛanānūṛu¹o cites several examples of cremation.

Archaeological evidence pushes back the antiquity of cremation beyond the age of the earliest literary document. Stein unearthed a number of post-cremation burials of the third millennium B.C. at Perianoghundai. Here remains of the dead after burning were gathered in earthen vessels and a resting place for them was provided within the walls of the dwellings or in closest proximity to them. These vessels were usually painted and found to contain burned human bones and ashes.

The burial customs of those who occupied the Moghulghundai mound were in the main the same as practised at Perianoghundai. This was strikingly demonstrated by a discovery made in the north trench at the depth of about 4 ft. from the top level. Here there was found, close to what seems to have been the stone foundation of a mud-brick wall, a large earthenware vessel. The inside

⁶ XIX. 11-12.

⁷ Anusāsana-parvan, 26.32.

⁸ VI. II. 66.

⁹ Puram, 239, 1.20

¹⁰ Verse 231, lines 1-4; verse 24, lines 7-10, etc.

¹¹ Cf. MASI, No. 37.

¹² Ibid., p. 41.

was full of human bone fragments, largely calcined, including fingers, small pieces of the skull, etc., as well as ashes. Apart from a few potsherds belonging to one or two small vessels which may have been broken before deposit, two little jars were found, one badly cracked, the other intact. The latter retains what seems to be the remains of some foodstuff. Both are painted.¹⁸

Post-cremation burials of the Chalcolithic period are again found at Suktagen-dor. Here large pots seem to have been placed in the ground and then cinerary deposits were put inside it. This is obvious, because the pots with their thin walls (to inch) could not have carried the great weight of the objects inside them. Cinerary deposits included earth, ashes and small fragments of human bones, a small jar also containing ashes, and a dish or bowl with stand.

Stein¹⁵ noticed numerous low cairns strewn on the stony slopes at the foot of the hillside above the mound at Moghulghundai. Some of these cairns revealed in the centre of the small circular patch of soft earth, about 1 ft. deep, which loose blocks of stone enclosed, a coarse earthenware pot, iron implements, small fragments of human bones and a few coarse potsherds. Among the sixty cairns examined, not a single piece of painted or plain pottery of the fine pre-historic ware was found. As Stein observed, "From the regular association of bone fragments with potsherds, it seems safe to conclude that those whose burial customs account for these cairns burned their dead and subsequently deposited a few of the bones in the ground within a rough stone enclosure along with some earthenware vessels which may have had served at the last

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¹³ Ibid., p. 45.

¹⁴ Ibid., No. 43, p. 66.

¹⁵ Ibid., No. 37, pp. 47f.

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rites or with broken pieces of the same." The scrolf design of Hellenistic inspiration on one small earthenware pot found in one cairn and a bronze ring showing workmanship of the Kuṣāṇa or Gupta period from another suggest that 'the deposits of these cairns cannot be older than the early centuries of our era'.

Funeral cairns near the Chaperkai hills in the Bari tract (Loralai District) were also noticed by Stein. Three of these showed on examination small remains of human bones and fragments of the same coarse earthenware as found within the cairns of Moghulghundai. "Thus the identity of the funeral customs practised at both widely separated localities was fully established, and probably also that of the period and race to which these deposits belong." 16

Stein records the presence of cairn-burials at many other sites. Of these, the cairns at Jiwanri are earlier than those of Moghulghundai, but belong to the historical period. The other sites include Nasirabad, Zangian, Kulli, Gwarjak, Nokjo Shahdinzai, Abdul-but, Dabar-kot, Tor-dherai and Sur-jangal.

Excavations in the mound at Dabar-kot¹⁷ unearthed some urns containing ashes with bone fragments. Two large jars containing ashes were found along with small fragments of burnt bones.

Similar funeral cairns were also found at Tor-dherai. 18 These cairns contained small calcined fragments of human bones and coarse potsherds. In one, a large whorl-like polished stone, a similar piece of bone and a carnelian bead inlaid with a white paste were found.

Stein noticed about 490 cairns at Zangian10 in

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 54.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 58.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 70.

¹⁹ Ibid., No. 43, pp. 86f.

W. Makran. Of these, 69 were opened. "Their walls of roughly heaped up stones usually form irregular oblongs with an approximate east to west bearing and enclose earth-filled spaces from 5 to 8 ft. in length and $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 ft. wide." Fragments of human bones were found in the earth-filled space and the majority of them had 'indications of calcination by burning.' Ten cairns showed earthen vessels from one to six in number. Two cairns yielded a horse's head each.

The same scholar opened four cairns at Kulli²⁰ and found 'within the circles loose earth and, mixed with this, small fragments of calcined bones, some ashes and pieces of plain pottery'.

At the village of Gwarjak²¹ on the right bank of the lower reaches of the river Mashkai was unearthed a large coarsely made jar, apparently hand-made, containing 'small calcined fragments of human bones and ashes, also two charred date stones probably meant to represent a funerary provision for food.' Fragments of calcined human bones were also recovered from two other cairns. Stein observes that the burial customs observed at the Chalcolithic sites of Zhob and Sutkagen-dor are similar to those noted at the later cemeteries of Jiwanri, Zangian and elsewhere in the Kez valley.

At Nokjo Shahdinzai²² a cairn was found to contain part of a skull, apparently of a child, with other bone fragments. A coarse-ware, open flat bowl and a jar containing ashes were found along with it.

One of the several small stone circles on the rocky ridge of Abdul-but was excavated by Stein. It yielded small fragments of burnt bones.

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²⁰ Ibid., p. 119.

²¹ Ibid., pp. 149 f.

²² Ibid., p. 153.

It is significant that while the funeral cairns excavated by Stein generally belong to the early Christian era, the cairns found at Sur-jangal⁸⁸ are definitely of the Chalcolithic period. Here low cairns are to be seen heaped up with large unhewn stones after the fashion noticed near other sites. All the excavated Moghulghundai and cairns yielded small calcined fragments of human bones together with a few potsherds. The pottery included a number of pieces "showing painted patterns of the same type as found on the pottery from the mound [here]. Hence there is some reason to believe that these cinerary deposits date from the same period as the relics unearthed in the mound. This conclusion is confirmed by the stone knifeblade which was found in one of the cairns. The chronological evidence here afforded is of interest as, in conjunction with what the finds in the cairns near Moghulghundai show, it suggests that burial customs practised during the Chalcolithic period in this region had continued into historical times."

The mound of Mehi, 24 also situated in the Mashkai valley, yielded on excavation large fragments of calcined human bones covered with a large broken bowl and a small jar containing earth mixed with ashes. In one trench were found six skulls in a heap over calcined bones. The skulls were small, some looking like those of children; yet some of the bones found there were manifestly those of adults. Regarding the burial customs of Mehi, Stein says, "The practice of placing ashes and remains of bones from completely cremated bodies in cinerary vessels is identical with that observed at the Chalcolithic sites of Zhob and Sutkagen-dor. On the other hand, the custom of leaving remains of partially burned corpses deposited

²³ Ibid, No. 37, pp. 76f.

²⁴ Ibid., No. 43, p. 155ff.m

together with personal relics at the place of cremation differs from that practice and may well mark a step towards complete interment such as is found at the later burials on the top of the Shahi-Tump mound and at the burial ground explored by Mr. Hargreaves at Nal." Marshall, however, rightly says that the process of cremation and inhumation are so fundamentally distinct that this view must obviously remain open to question.

Opinions differ regarding the methods of disposal of the dead prevailing in the prehistoric site of Mohenjo-daro. Since no orderly burials of definitely Harappan date have vet been found, Mackay se assumes that "the complete absence of burial......points to cremation as the chief mode of disposal of the dead." But, in the opinion of Wheeler,27 as at Harappa, a systematic inhumation cemetery lies somewhere in the unexplored outskirts of the town. He also doubts the supposition that certain urns at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro containing a mélange of odds and ends 'sometimes mingled with ashes and charcoal's represent human cremations. These large wide-mouthed urns were found to contain a number of smaller vases, bones of small quadrupeds, birds or fish, and frequently a variety of small objects such as beads, bangles, terracotta figurines and chert flakes, sometimes mingled with ashes and charcoal. The urns were generally found in buildings underneath a floor or street. The smaller vessels inside them included bowls, saucers, pointed goblets, beakers, and sometimes miniature vases which may have been used for unguents or cosmetics. But out of the 126 urns discovered from Harappa, only one contained a human bone, and that showed no

²⁵ Ibid., p. 163.

²⁶ Further Excavations at Mohenjodaro, Vol. I, p. 648.

²⁷ Indus Civilisation, p. 54.

²⁸ Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilisation, Vol. I, pp. 86 ff.

sign of burning. Marshall explains the absence of human bones from these urns by referring to a practice in the Punjab, according to which the remains of the bones are taken from the funeral pyre, pounded to dust and then committed to the river. In his opinion, some such practice may well have obtained among the Indus people, who may either have buried the pounded dust in these urns in which case it would scarcely be detectable, or else may have thrown the ashes into the river and buried only an urnful of offerings in the house of the dead. That the urns contained offerings for the dead and were not merely receptacles for articles of ordinary domestic use is manifest not only from the peculiar and uniform character of their contents, and the presence of lambs', chickens' and fishes' bones in most of the smaller vases, but also by their striking resemblance to post-cremation urns in Baluchistan. 29 Mention may, in this connection, be made of a collection from Mohenjo-daro of charred human bones, including pieces of a skull and finger joints along with a number of goblets, dishes, and other vessels (in one of which some pieces of bone were sticking), badly baked clay tablets, broken shell bangles, and a terracotta figurine and a chert scrapper—the whole mingled with ashes and charcoal. 80 More recently A. Ghosh has reported cremations in the latest Harappan level at Tarkhanawala Dera in North-West Bikaner. 81

The excavations conducted by the Italian Archaeological Mission at differnt sites in the Swat Valley brought to light several necropolises containing evidence of both inhumation and post-cremation burials. So far as the post-cremation graves are concerned, a common feature that strikes us is the presence of a plentiful residue of charcoal

²⁹ Ibid., pp. 87ff.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 87.

³¹ Wheeler, op. cit., p. 53n.

in the earth filling the upper cavity; 32 it has often been found on the covering slabs. In the lower cavity, a large jar, usually closed, with holes in the broad part, is found to contain charred bones. Around the cinerary urn is placed the usual collection of funeral vases. In this case, the necklace beads, copper pins, etc., are placed inside the vase together with the bones. In most cases, bones are not thoroughly consumed by fire, as if the rite consisted more in removing the flesh from the skeleton than in reducing the latter to ashes.

The Pakistan Archaeological Department has unearthed a grave-culture at Timargarha on the Panjkora river which is akin to those in the Swat Valley. In one of the three types of disposal of the dead noticed here, individuals were burnt away from the graves. Their bones, ashes and charcoal were collected in urns. The bones of more than one individual were found in each of such urns. These urns were generally large globular vases with an imitation of human face on one side, showing a holed mouth, holed eyes, protruding nose, and eye-lids. 38

At Lauriya Nandangarh, 34 Bloch excavated four of the earthen mounds arranged in three rows of five each. These are of varying heights from 50 to 20 ft. Bloch thinks that the mounds were originally hemispherical, and that rain-waters have washed off a good deal of earth from the top and thus changed their forms. Of the mounds opened, two presented almost identical features. The material of which they are constructed is yellow clay that appears to have been taken from the bed of the Gandak river, at present about ten miles distant. This clay was found to

³² East and West, 1966, p. 49.

³³ Ancient Pakistan, Vol. III. 1967, pp. 32f.

³⁴ ASI, A.R., 1904-05, pp. 38ff.; ZDMG, Vol. 60, pp 227ff.; also ASI, A.R., 1935-36, pp. 57ff.

be laid in horizontal layers a few inches thick and extending, apparently, right through the mound, with straw and leaves between them. At a few feet below the top, and in the centre, of each mound was a deposit of human bones and charcoal and a small gold leaf with the figure of a woman stamped upon it; then further down, came a lone hollow shaft in the clay, showing where a wooden post had once existed but had since been eaten away by white ants; and then, still futher down, at the dividing line between the yellow clay and the grey virgin soil, was found the stump of the post itself in situ. This stump was of sāl wood and of considerable thickness, its circumference near the base being 4' 4".

In the third mound, the clay was laid in the same way, with straw and leaves, as in the other two; but there was no deposit of human bones though animal bones turned up here and there. In the centre all through the mound were found some pieces of corroded iron. Is it possible that they formed parts of a similar pillar running through the centre of the mound, like the wooden post in the one already described?

In the fourth mound, nothing was found, nor even the remains of the wooden post in the centre.

For an explanation of the facts revealed by the excavations at Lauriya, Bloch rightly refers to the funeral customs, described in literature which deals with the ritual. The rules, as have already been specified above, so suggest that the disposal of dead in ancient India was divided into four separate acts, viz. (i) cremation; (ii) collecting bones of the cremated person and depositing them in an urn

³⁵ This was found only in one case; excavation in the second did not go deep enough.

³⁶ See also ASI, A.R., 1904-05, pp. 39f.

(asthi-sancayana); (ii) expiation (śanti-karma); and (iv) erection of the funeral monument (smasana-citi, losta-citi).

The fourth act enjoins the bringing out of the urn containing bones, which was placed in the field under a The bones are then washed and several other ceremonies performed. These relics are now placed upon the earth, the urn is broken and thrown away and a funeral monument (smasana) is erected over the bones by piling up layers of bricks or clay. The height of such a grave generally does not appear to have exceeded that of a human body, and its shape was quadrangular. However, both Āpastambha and Hiranyakeśin also mention round śmaśāna like the mounds at Lauriya. The Vedic verse employed in building up the smasana refers to a post (sthuna). Bloch remarks, "the meaning of this is not quite clear from the context or from the ritual; but I think the discovery of the two wooden posts in mounds A and C above which the bones were deposited, shows that it refers to a similar custom according to which a pillar was erected in the centre of the funeral monument and the bones placed above its top. The verse may be thus translated:—'I raise the earth around thee; that I lay down this lump of earth, should not do me any harm. May the manes hold this pillar for thee, and may Yama prepare a seat for thee in the other world.'

"Again in another verse recited on the same occasion it is said:—'The piled up earth may stand firmly, may it be supported by a thousand pillars.'

"That there is a connection between mounds A and C at Lauriya and the *smasāna* described in the Vedic ritual, cannot be doubted. The straw placed between the layers

³⁷ We have not discussed this aspect of the funeral rites since it is no part of the disposal of dead.

of clay at Lauriya reminds us of the bushels of grass that are put upon the *smasāna* and, as regards the gold leaf, we must remember that pieces of gold are placed upon the openings of the dead body before it is cremated."³⁸

The huge dimensions of the funeral mounds at Lauriya led Bloch to consider them as 'royal tombs'. That the relics of great monarchs were enshrined in a stupa in ancient times is proved by the Mahāparinibbānasutta. 80 There Buddha enjoins Ananda to erect at the crossing of four highways (catummahāpathe) a stūpa over the remains of his body, after it had been burnt on the funeral pyre, in the same manner as the stupa of a universal monarch. Originally, therefore, there was probably no distinction in form between a royal tomb and a Buddhist stupa. It is also clear that the custom of erecting stūpas was prevalent even before the Buddha. The Satapatha Brahmana, while referring to the erection of a four-cornered earthen-mound over the relics after burning, says that the Easterners (prācyāh) make their smasāna round in shape (parimandala).40 It is likely that this round sepulchral mound of the Vedic 'Easterners' was the prototype of the stupa of later times and therefore there should be some common elements in them. We may note that the continuance of erecting a wooden post in the centre of a mound at Lauriya, which has its analogy in a Rgvedic hymn, is suggested by a column or shaft haphazardly made of brick, earth and concrete in the centre of a Buddhist stupa at the same place. A more regular shaft, filled with clay and encased by brick-work, was discovered in the centre of the Piprahwa stupa and this feature has been noticed also in the stupas at Bhattiprolu and elsewhere in the South. This masonry column seems to have served

³⁸ ZDMG, Vol. 60, pp. 231f.

³⁹ Dīghanikāya, XVI. 5.11.

⁴⁰ SBE, Vol. XIV, p. 423 and note 2.

been fully made known to them,—still doing homage to the corpse with their own dancing and songs and music and with garlands and perfumes, with the accompaniment of divine dancing and songs and music and garlands and perfumes from the gods, they carried the corpse by the north gate to the north of the city. Then entering by the northern gate, they carried it through the city to the midst thereof. And then, going out by the eastern gate, they carried it to the shrine known as the Makutabandhana Cetiya or Coronation-temple of the Mallas, which was on the east of the city. And there they laid it down.

There, under the direction of the Venerable Ananda, 53 the corpse was prepared for cremation, in all respects just as if it had been the corpse of a Cakkavatti or universal monarch. It was wrapped in a new cloth (ahata vattha), and then in flocks of cotton (kappāsa), alternately, until there were five hundred layers of each. It was then placed in an iron coloured oil-trough, which was covered by another iron-coloured trough. 54 And it was then placed on a funeral pile (citaka) made of all sorts of odorous substances.

Four chief men of the Mallas⁵⁸ who had washed their heads and wore new clothes for the purpose, then sought to set the funeral pile on fire. But they could not do so because, as was explained to them by the Venerable

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⁵² Fleet observes, "a very special honour was conferred on the corpse of the Buddha by this treatment; for (as the translator of the Mahāparinibbānasutta, SBE, Vol. XI, p. 125n, has indicated); to carry into the city, in any ordinary case, the corpse of a person who had died outside it, would have polluted the city. In a similar manner, the corpse of Mahinda was carried into the city, and then out on the south; see Dīpavarisa, 17. 102-03" (JRAS, 1906, p. 661n).

⁵³ Mahāpari., text 255/161.

⁵⁴ R. Knox (quoted by Fleet) mentions a custom of placing the corpse of a person of quality, for cremation, inside a tree cut down and hollowed out like a hog-trough.

⁵⁵ Mahāpari., text 257/163.

Aniruddha, the intention of the gods was otherwise: namely, that the pile should not catch fire until homage should have been paid at the feet of the Buddha by the Venerable Mahākassapa who, travelling at that time from Pāvā to Kusīnārā with five hundred bhikkhus, friars, had heard on the way, from an Ājīvaka, the news of the Buddha's death, and was pushing on to Kusīnārā. In due course, Mahākassapa and the five hundred bhikkhus arrived. And, when they had done homage at the feet of the Buddha, the funeral pile caught fire of its own accord.

The corpse (sarīram) of the Buddha was then so thoroughly consumed that, just as when ghee (sappi) or oil is burnt, neither ashes nor soot could be detected, either of the cuticle, or of the skin, or of the flesh, or of the sinews, or of the lubricating fluid of the joints; only the bones (sarīrāni) were left. The streams of water fell down from the sky, and extinguished the fire. And the Mallas of Kusīnārā extinguished the pyre with water scented with perfumes of all kinds.

Then for seven days, 58 the Mallas of Kusīnārā guarded the bones, the corporeal relics (sarīram) of the Buddha in their Santhāgāra, their townhall, within a cage of spears with a rampart of bows, doing homage to them with dancing and songs and music, and with garlands and perfumes.

Meanwhile, the news had spread abroad. So messengers arrived, from various peoples who claimed shares of the corporeal relics, and promised to erect thūpas (stūpas) and hold feasts in honour of them.

⁵⁶ Ibid., text, 258/164.

⁵⁷ According to tradition, the following bones remained uninjured: the four canine teeth, the two collar-bones and the *unhīsa* (*usnīsa*) or excrescence from the cranium. See *JRAS*, 1906, p. 663n.

⁵⁸ Mahāpari., text, 258/164.

At the instance of a Brāhmana, named Dona, the corporeal relics were divided into eight equal shares, fairly apportioned, and distributed among the claimants. And the Brāhmana himself received the *Kumbha*, earthen jar, in which the bones had been collected after the cremation. The Moriyas of Pipphalīvana, who came late, were given the extinguished embers (angāra) of the fire.

Thus there were eight thūpas for the corporeal relics, and a ninth for the Kumbha, and a tenth for the embers.

It follows from this description that the funeral rites that prevailed among the Sakyas conform basically to the Vedic formula of cremation, collection of bones in an urn and their final burial under a mound. The question may be raised as to the origin of this post-cremation burial. In this connection, R.P. Chanda 50 says: "The different modes of disposal of the charred bone relics of the dead that obtained among the Vedic Aryas probably originally pertained to different strands of culture and one is tempted - to attribute the urn-burial to the influence of the burial customs of the copper age people of the Lower Indus valley. Though no trace of earth-burial of charred bones has yet come to light at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro, at the latter place and at Nal have been unearthed fragments of copper and earthen vessels with holes." In this connection, he refers to the jar with hundred holes required for sprinkling water on the bone relics according to the Atharvaveda.

As to the disposal of the Buddha's dead body, a question arises: how was the corpse of the Buddha saved from decomposition for six days preceding its cremation? Fleet 60 suggests that the mention of perfumes and woven cloths $(dussa = Skt. d\bar{u}rsa)$ may indicate that recourse was had to

⁵⁹ MASI, No. 31, p. 14.

⁶⁰ JRAS, 1906, p. 660n.

some process of embalming and swathing. In this connection, he refers to Robert Knox who in his Historical Relation of Ceylon, Part 3, Chapter II, while describing the arrangements for cremation, has expressly mentioned disembowelling and embalming in cases where the corpse of a person of quality is not cremated speedily. Grierson, 61 however, refers to a contemporary custom in Tirhut according to which honey was used for such purposes. In 1877, he was in Madhubani, on the Nepal frontier, just at the time of Jang Bahadur's death a few miles away in the Tarai. He was told by the local people that the body was kept in a trough (? drona) filled with honey for quite a long time, while his wives were being sent for from Kathmandu, so that one or more should become sati at his cremation. That decomposition could be arrested at least for some days by keeping the dead body in oil was known to the ancient Indians; it is proved by the evidence of the Satyāṣāḍhasrautasūtra62 and Vaikhānasasrautasūtra.68 These two texts prescribe that, if an āhitāgni died away from his people, his corpse should be laid down in a tub or trough filled with sesame oil and brought home in a cart. The body of Dasaratha was likewise placed for several days in a tub containing oil till the arrival of Bharata. 64 The Visnupurāna 65 states that the body of Nimi being covered with oil and fragrant substances did not become decomposed and looked as if the death was recent.

At Rajgir 66 in Period II (c. 5th to 2nd century B.C.)

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⁶¹ Ibid., pp. 1002f.

⁶² XXIX. 4.29.

⁶³ XXXI, 23.

⁶⁴ Ram., Ayodhya, 66.14-16; 76.5.

⁶⁵ IV. 5.7.

⁶⁶ Anc. Ind., No. 7, p. 70.

were found traces of ten cases of a previously unknown type of post-cremation burial. These are pits with elliptical bottoms and with short funnels dug below into the soil. The funnels were filled with clay (in two cases, burial-pits Nos. 8 and 9, stone-blocks were also used) and the sides of the pits were lined with coatings of clay. The improvised 'jars' were then filled with bone-bits and ashes collected from the cremations. Only in one case (burial pit No. 9) was a thin slab of clay used for sealing the pit, the slab again being covered by a thin deposit of red gravel. Another pit (No. 10) was found to have been left unlined with clay, though it contained material similar to the lined ones.

At Bairat, below two large boulders and a layer of smaller ones, immediately in front of an Asokan Rock Edict, Carlleyle discovered four earthen vessels in a regular line and at the same level. 67 On examination they were found to be cinerary urns containing human bones. Carlleyle thought that the cinerary urns were of great antiquity and the boulder stones could have been brought there by some flood. But, from the report of a correspondent to the Indian Antiquary, 68 it seems that Carlleyle was not correct in holding the urns to be of 'great antiquity'. In fact, the placing of cinerary remains in earthen vessels and burying them in some well-marked spot until they can be taken to the Ganges is a well-known practice among the Hindus. They may remain so buried for two, three or even more years; but it is a solemn duty of their surviving relatives to carry these remains at length to the sacred river. The cinerary urns, dug up at Bairat, were similar temporary burials of the preceding three or four years. We are informed

⁶⁷ Cunningham, ASIR, Vol. VI, p. 100.

⁶⁸ Vol. X, p. 154.

by the said correspondent that, shortly after Carlleyle's visit, the neighbouring villagers complained of the sacrilege committed by the white visitor who dug up the relics of their dead.

Excavations at Sonpur (Gaya District)⁷⁰ led to the discovery of some post-cremation burials, each a circular pit, about 6 ft. in diameter and $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft. in depth, full of ashes, bone pieces and common types of pottery. Bones of animals and birds were frequently met with in the burials.

Excavations at Adittanallur similarly led to the discovery of an extensive area full of ashes mixed with bones and horns of animals. It was covered with about a foot of silted gravel, beneath which the deposit extended in places to a depth of several feet. Rea suggests that it may be either an ancient village site or a cremation ground; but the large quantity of ashes would appear to go against the former theory. Presuming it to be a cremation ground, the question arises as to whether or not its use was contemporary with the adjacent burials. Whatever the date of the deposit may be, the depth of the gravel which covers it proves it to be of great antiquity.

Excavations on the northern slopes of the Nagarjunikonda hill on the river bank revealed to view remains of a cremation ground, presumably of the royal family of the Ikṣvākus. It had three units. The first consisted of huge pillared halls with seating arrangements, fixed bāṇalingas at the corners and screened maṇḍapas. The sculpture of a lady against a ladder, as though jumping into fire, might

⁶⁹ This fact apparently escaped Gordon's notice. See Prelistoric Background of Indian Culture, p. 161.

⁷⁰ Ind. Arch., 1958-59, p. 8.

⁷¹ ASI, A.R., 1903-04, p. 77.

⁷² Ind. Arch., 1958-59, p. 8.

suggest that sati had been practised here. Slightly to the west of this and at a higher level was the second unit, also a pillared hall. Another sculpture of a lady in state was recovered from this site, along with huge pots used in funerary function. The third unit comprised a ruined temple of Siva with a dhvaja-stambha in front.

NOTES

ORISSA IN KARNATAK HISTORY AND LITERATURE

P. B. DESAI

Geography divides Orissa and Karnatak by a distance of several hundred miles and the vast territory of Andhra Pradesh intervenes between the two. In the political sphere, the two peoples had fewer occasions to come into closer contact with each other, either as friends or as foes. These factors offer an explanation for the paucity and vagueness of almost all allusions to Orissa in the old Kannada literature and epigraphs.

This vagueness is characterized by the use of the general term Kalinga which roughly comprised the Ganjam District and the Puri-Cuttak region of Orissa and also the northern parts of Andhra Pradesh. While the references to Kalinga are larger in number, those to Udra or Odra and Utkala, the two ancient names specifically denoting Orissa proper, are met with occasionally in the inscriptions of Karnatak. It would be of some interest to consider a few of them here.

The earliest mention of Kalinga may be traced in the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription of Mangalīśa,¹ wherein Cālukya Kīrtivarman I is credited with the subjugation, among others, of the rulers of Anga, Vanga, Magadha and Kalinga. According to the Aihole inscription,³ Pulakeśin II wrought terror among the Kalingas in the course of his eastern expedition. The first of these allusions has to be treated as conventional, having little historical value; and the second is too vague and general to draw any historical inference from it. It seems that, from this time onwards, it became a

¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. XIX, p. 17.

² Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, pp. 1 ff., verse 26.

convention and no less a fashion with the Kannada writers to mention Kalinga along with Anga and Vanga while enumerating the countries outside Karnatak.⁸

More useful is the description contained in the Parabhani plates af Arikesarin II, patron of the reputed Kannada poet Pampa The record states that Yuddhamalla I (c. 8th century A.D.), an early ancestor of the above chief, was ruling over the tract of one lakh and a quarter, comprising the three Kalingas, along with Vengi. The record, however, does not explain the nature of the three Kalingas.

No doubt, sometimes we come across statements which make a distinction between Āndhra and Kalinga. For instance, in the Wardha and Navasari plates, Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa II is said to have enforced allegiance from Lāṭa, Gūrjara, Āndhra, Kalinga and Magadha. The Kalacuri usurper Bijjala is credited with victory over Āndhra and Kalinga in an inscription of his son, Rāyamurāri Sovideva. But the historicity of such assertions is not beyond question.

Turning to Uḍra or Oḍra, an early mention of this region as Oḍraka is found in the Sanjan plates of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Amōghavarṣa I,⁷ which speak of the subjugation of this country by Govinda III. 'Oḍḍaha' occurring in a record of Hoysala Viṣṇuvardhana⁸ must be identical with Oḍraka.

With their boundaries extending over the Āndhra areas, the Vijayanagara rulers came into closer contacts with Orissa, particularly during the time of the second and third dynasties. Narasimha I of the Sāļuva lineage carried his arms as far as Orissa beyond the Āndhra territory. The

³ Ibid, Vol. VIII, pp. 129, 171.

⁴ O. J. Bh. It. Sam Mandal, Poona, Vol. XIII, No. 3.

⁵ IBBRAS, Vol. XVIII, pp. 239-69.

⁶ Ep. Ind, Vol. XV, p. 319.

⁷ Ibid, Vol. XVIII, p. 245.

⁸ Derrett, The Hoysalas, p. 69.

triumphant expedition of Kṛṣṇadevarāya against the Gajapati king Pratāparudra of Orissa constitutes an important landmark in the history of the Vijayanagara empire. Hence this achievement was arrogated for themselves, even without proper justification, by the later rulers of this dynasty, whose pratasti is often embellished with the viruda Oḍḍiyarāya-diśāpaṭṭa,⁸ i.e. 'vanquisher of the king of the Oḍḍiya country.' 'Oḍḍiya' here evidently stands for Orissa.

Still less known is the name Utkala. Scholars like Fleet¹⁰ and Kielhorn¹¹ thought that Taila II, founder of the later line of the Western Calukyas, led an expedition against the Utkala country. But this view is erroneous, based as it is on the confusion between the expressions Utkala and Utpala, the latter of which was another name of the Paramāra king Munja.18 Utkala, however, occurs in the description of the exploits of Mallugi, an early member of the Yadava dynasty of Devagiri, wherein he is credited with the capture of a troop of elephants belonging to the king of Utkala.18 In the charters of the rulers of the fourth dynasty of Vijayanagara,14 we come across the grandiloquent title, Utkalendra-jaya-pandita, i.e. 'adept in overpowering the king of Utkala'. But this seems to be only a late echo of Krsnadevarāya's victory over the Gajapati king of Orissa, alluded to above.

Apart from such notices of uncertain value, there is no denying the fact that, in ancient and mediaeval Indian

⁹ Ep. Ind., Vol. XII, p. 229, etc.

¹⁰ Bomb. Gaz., Vol. I, Part II, p. 431.

¹¹ Ep. Ind., Vol. IV. p. 207. The original reading is Utpala only; but it was wrongly corrected to Utkala by Kielhorn.

¹² Ind. Ant., Vol. XXXVI, p. 168.

¹³ Bomb. Gaz., Vol. I, Part II, p. 516.

¹⁴ Ep. Ind., Vol. XVI, p. 250.

history, Karnatak played a more impressive role in the political and cultural spheres, and influenced many far and near regions including Orissa.

The Eastern Gangas ruling over parts of Orissa from about the fifth century must have been connected with the Western Gangas of the Old Mysore territory. In like manner, the ancestry of the Kadambas who ruled in Orissa as feudatories of the later Gangas during the tenth and eleventh centuries, goes back to the Kannada country. During the early decades of the twelfth century, the area around the Sambalpur District was ruled by the nobles of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family hailing from Karnatak as disclosed by the Bargarh copper-plate record of Paracakraśalya, dated in Samvat 56, probably of the Cālukya-Vikrama era. 15

Orissa experienced the impact of Karnatak culture to a considerable extent in the domain of religion and philosophy. The Vaisnavite movement sponsored by Ānandatīrtha or Madhv-ācārya, a native of the South Kanara District, spread far and wide in many parts of India including Orissa. Naraharitīrtha, one of the foremost of his disciples, preached the Vaisnava gospel in Orissa during the reign of the Ganga king Anangabhīma III. Many distinguished persons, including members of the royal household, became converts to this new faith. Noteworthy is the change trought about in the persuasion of the ruling house of the Gangas themselves. The kings of this dynasty, who were originally Saivite, became the followers of the Vaisnava school from the time of the above-named ruler. 18

¹⁵ Ibid., Vol. XXX, pp 135ff. [For the Tailapa-vamsīs in Orissa, see ibid., Vol. XXIII, pp. 141ff.—Ed.]

¹⁶ Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society, Vol. VIII, pp 43 ff. [The Eastern Gangas became Vaisnavas devoted to Purusottama-Jagannātha of Purī from the days of Anantavarman Codaganga (1078-1147 A.D.) who conquered the Purī-Cuttack region. See Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVIII, pp. 237-38.—Ed.]

Naraharitirtha acted as regent of the infant Ganga king Narasimha II and governed the kingdom for more than thirty years. A large number of inscriptions belonging to this period, wherein Narharitirtha figures as the donor, have been found in the temples of Simhachalam and Srikurmam.¹⁷

The services rendered by Naraharitirtha both as administrator and religious teacher in the kingdom of Orissa proved to be epoch-making in the annals of the Mādhvas of Karnatak. The Narahariyatistotra narrates that, as a reward for his selfless services, Naraharitītha secured from the royal treasury the sanctified images of Śrī-Rāma and Sītā and handed them over to his guru Ānandatīrtha. These images, ever since, are under perpetual adoration in one of the Mādhva mathas of Karnatak and every follower of the faith is acquainted with the mysterious accounts of their historic origin and acquisition. This may be considered as a unique living link between the two territories, Orissa and Karnatak.¹⁸

¹⁷ Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, p. 262 and n.

¹⁸ Incidentally, a few more points of contact between the two regions bearing cultural significance may be mentioned here. In the Sarasvatīvilāsacampū, the unsullied fame of the Gajapati king Kapileśvara is compared, strangely enough to the spotless laughter of the amorous ladies of Karnatak. The title Aniyankabhīma which means 'a veteran warrior, formibable on the battle-field,' assumed by some of the Ganga kings has to be traced to Kannada origin, since the expressions ani and anka bear special significance in that language. It is interesting to observe that tales current in the Oriya tradition and folklore contain frequent allusions to the rulers and chiefs hailing from the Karnatak area.

HARISIMHADEVA AND THE KARŅĀŢA INVASION OF NEPAL

UPENDRA THAKUR

Some time back, R.C. Majumdar published a paper dealing with king Harisimha of Mithilā,¹ who was the last great king of the Karṇāṭa dynasty founded by Nānyadeva in 1097-98 A.D.² A zealous reformer and an indomitable warrior, Harisimha had a stormy political career, and he will go down in the history of the land for his brave and memorable deeds.³

Majumdar raised some points which deserve the attention of scholars. These may be summarised as follows:—

- (I) Bhūpālasimha ruled after Śaktisimha and before Harisimha, according to a seventeenth century epigraphic record of Pratāpamalladeva.
- (2) Harisimha ascended the throne of Mithila about 1285 A.D., and not in 1303 or 1307 A.D.
- (3) Harisimha scored successes against the Muslims 'either during the last days of the Mamluk Sultāns after the death of Balban (1287 A.D.) or during the chaos and confusion that followed the death of 'Alā-uddīn Khaljī (1316 A.D.).'s
- (4) The conquest of Nepal by Candesvara, his minister, fneed not necessarily be referred to a time after the

¹ R. C. Majumdar, 'King Harisiriha of Mithila' in the Journal of the Bihar Research Society, Vol. XLIII, Pts. i-ii, 1957 (March-June), pp. 1 ff. This now appears in the Delhi Sultanate, ed. Majumdar.

² For other details, see Thakur, History of Mithila, Ch. V.

³ Ibid., pp 278 ff.

⁴ Ind. Ant., Vol. IX, p. 188.

⁵ Majumdar, op cit., p. 2.

- defeat of Harisimha by Ghiyās-uddīn Tughluq'. The tulāpuruṣa ceremony, celebrated by Caṇḍeśvara in 1314 A.D., followed upon the conquest of Nepal as suggested by M. M. Chakravarti, and this seems to be 'a very reasonable view.'
- (5) Harisimha was not defeated; on the other hand, he 'successfully defended' himself in his impregnable citadel in the dense forest of Nepal Tarai, while the Muslim army overran the plains of Tirhut. He was, however, forced to leave the plains probably on the 14th December, 1325 A.D. (not in 1324 A.D.), and to abandon his own kingdom and settle in Nepal, which had already acknowledged his suzerainty, and he entered, not conquered, Nepal.⁸

From the inscription of Pratāpamalladeva of Kathmandu, referred to above, we learn that Bhūpālasimha was the predecessor of Harisimha, who, like Malladeva, son of Nānyadeva, may be treated as 'a forgotten king of Mithila'. But, while we have one inscription in the name of Malladeva, there is no record of Pratāpasimha to enlighten us on his reign-period. Candra Jhā also quotes a Paūjī verse running on the same line. In the genealogy thus presented, it is nowhere explicitly mentioned that Bhūpāla succeeded as 'king' immediately after the death of Saktisimha, the father of Harisimha. He is, however, referred to as 'king' which does not necessarily mean that he ever ascended the throne. He was entitled to this royal prerogative because he was the real claimant to the throne.

⁶ Ibid., p. 3.

⁷ Loc. clt.

⁸ Ibid, pp. 6-7.

⁹ Hist. Mith., pp. 254 ff.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 279, note 1.

¹¹ D. R Regmi believes that Bhūpālasimha was the father of Harisimha (Ancient and Mediaeval Nepal, p. 152).

• Had he been alive and ruled over the land even for some time, there are no reasons why the contemporary works should have kept silent on his reign while they have eulogised the petty deeds of Harisimha's predecessors and of Harisimha himself in no uncertain terms. Moreover, we have to remember that the inscription of Pratāpamalla is based on hearsay and has nothing to do with the official Vamsāvalī which are often so conflicting in the presentation of facts.

This assumption is not 'gratuitous', but is quite reasonable in view of the evidence at our disposal. Saktisimha's help to 'Alā-uddīn Khaljī in course of the latter's Ranthambhor expedition in 1300 A.D. is no doubt based on a Mithilā tradition, recorded by Vidyāpati in his Puruṣaparīkṣā,¹² which slightly conflicts with the account given by Mullā Taqiā in his Diary, but nevertheless finds indirect corroboration from it.¹³ It is true that the tradition is not supported by any other Muslim chronicler; but it is also true that this event, though an object of pride for the Maithilas, was not so significant as to merit the attention of the contemporary Muslim chroniclers, for Śaktisimha represented a tiny tract with nothing remarkable to command their genuine respect.

The trouble lies in the fact that sometimes we take for granted everything contained in an epigraph and ignore the eulogistic character of such documents. Had it been a contemporary record, we would have taken it as a genuine fact. But, as we know, the record was issued some three hundred years later, and that too in a foreign land, whereas

¹² Cf. Dayāvīrakathāprasanga of the Puruṣaparīkṣā, ed. Ramanatha Jha. Candeśvara in his Kṛtyacintāmaṇi also describes him as Hambīra-dhvānta-bhānu (Hist. Mith, p. 276, note 1).

¹³ For details, see ibid., pp. 275-76 (note 3); R. K. Choudhary, History of Muslim Rule in Tirhut (in the press).

the land of his birth and activities has nothing to record . in his favour. If Harisimha's reign is placed in 1303 or 1307 A.D., and not in the last decade of the thirteenth century, it does not at all create the problem of a missing link in the political history of Mithila, 14 and for that matter, in the history of Bihar. It is, on the other hand, fully in consonance with the date of Saktisimha's death recorded in contemporary literary accounts of 1296 A.D.. for Harisimha is said to have been a minor when he ascended the throne and the administration was looked after by Candesvara, his able and faithful minister. Moreover, the tendency to disregard the local traditions as always untrustworthy, when they do not suit our hypotheses, is unsatisfactory for it is these traditions that offer light when other sources fail. It is particularly true in the case of Mithila. which has been a land of literary and philosophical tradition throughout the centuries, and which has no recorded history fully based on official documents and other historical sources.

A verse in the Dānaratnākara of Candeśvara says that the king rescued the earth flooded by the Mlecchas. 15 Jyotirīśvara's Dhūrtasamāgama (a two-act comedy played at Harisimha's court in Nepal) also records that the king conquered the Suratrāna or Sultān, meaning some Muslim king or chief. The introductory verse of the Sugatisopāna 10 further confirms the statement by giving a poignant picture of the chaotic condition of the time. All these statements clearly show that Harisimha had to fight against some Muslim invader whom he ultimately succeeded in defeating.

¹⁴ Hist. Mith., pp. 279-80.

¹⁵ R. L. Mitra, Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts, Vol. VI, p. 135, No. 2069 (verse 2).

¹⁶ Introductory verse 4.

The above statements have not been taken to refer to Harisimha's fight with Ghiyas-uddin Tughluq in 1324 A.D. as Majumdar takes it to be. We have thoroughly dealt with this aspect of Muslim invasion showing that the invading Sultan was probably Bahadur Shah, the king of Bengal, for it is said that at the instigation of Bughra Shah, the eldest son of Firuz Shah, and the brother of Rukn-uddin, and his brother Nasir-uddin (who took refuge with emperor Tughluq Shāh in 1320 A.D., after having been defeated by his brother, Bahadur Shah), emperor Tughluq Shah or Sultan Ghiyas-uddin invaded Bengal. When the Imperial army left for Delhi, Bahadur Shah returned to Sonargaon while Nasir-uddin joined the emperor in Tirhut, submitted to him and went to Lakhnawati where he was confirmed by the emperor as Governor.¹⁷ It is, therefore, natural to conclude that the composition of the Danaratnakara and Dhūrtasamāgama took place only after the expulsion of this invader who had tried to usurp the kingdom of Mithila, but failed,18 probably sometime after 1316 A.D. Hence the exalting references to the victory of Harisimha and his ministers over the Muslim Sultan after a long and bloody fight.

The theory about the conquest of Nepal is another knotty problem, which has been variously interpreted by different scholars. Majumdar, following M.M. Chakravarti, believes that Nepal had acknowledged Harisimha's suzerainty long before he entered it in 1325 A.D. and settled there, after having been forced by the armies of Ghiyāsuddīn Tughluq to leave Tirhut. In support of this contention, it is said that Candesvara performed the tulāpuruṣa ceremony in 1314 A.D. (which evidently followed the

¹⁷ Hist. Mith, p. 404; An. Bhand. Or. Res. Inst., Vol. XXXV, pp 115-16; Hist. Beng., Vol. II (ed. J. N. Sarkar), p. 84; Camb. Hist. Ind, Vol. III, pp. 133-34; Riyāzus-Salātīn by Ghulam Husain Salim, trans. A. Abdus Salim, p. 84, note 1; Rājanītiratnākara (ed. K. P. Jayaswal), p. 18; Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī, trans., Vol. I, p. 213.

¹⁸ For another version, see Hist. Mith., p. 404, note 4.

conquest of Nepal)—a fact recorded in Candesvara's Krtyaratnākara. 19

Another writer believes that the conquest of the valley of Nepal was effected in 1314 A.D. 30 The chronicles of Wright and Bhagwanlal put 1324 A.D. as the first date of occupation of the Nepal Valley by Harisimhadeva. 21 According to the former, Harisimha, however, could not retain his hold for long partly due to the stiff resistance put up by the Malla rulers and partly due to the hovering clouds of the Tughluq invasion over the horizon of his original kingdom of Tirhut. But when he was forced to retire to the hills by the conquering Tughluq armies, he devoted himself solely to the consolidation of his position there. 22 Yet there is another scholar who has of late advanced the theory that this conquest of Nepal by Harisimha was not effected at all, 23 and he has been strongly supported by D.R. Regmi in his latest work on the history of Nepal, 24 though in his earlier work, referred to above, he expressed his agreement with the other writers.

In the face of these conflicting theories, it is very difficult to arrive at a definite conclusion. If we regard the view of M. M. Chakravarti as 'very reasonable', then how is it that the Vamisāvalī and the earlier inscriptions of Nepal have nothing to say on this most important episode of Nepal history in the first quarter of the fourteenth century? Supposing that this conquest was a reality, what about the ruler or rulers who were installed there by Harisimha to rule in his name? But the history of Nepal

¹⁹ India Office Cat. (ed. Eggeling), Vol. III, No. 1387.

²⁰ D. R. Regmi, op. cit., pp. 150 ff.

²¹ Ibid., p. 15.

²² Ibid., pp. 150-51.

²³ L. Petech, Medieval History of Nepal, pp. 195 ff.

²⁴ Mediaeval Nepal, Part I, pp. 271 ff.

during the period under review is full of conflict and warfare and rules out any possibility of such a stable government. We, therefore, fail to understand how Harisimha's entry into Nepal could have been so smooth as to allow him to devote solely to the consolidation of his power and position there, quite unchallenged and unobstructed. It is very difficult to believe that a king who was uprooted and chased from his own country could have had so easy a movement in the foreign land of Nepal. The Vamsavali and the later inscriptions throw a good deal of light on Harisimha's descendants who happened to rule over the territory after him. All these show that the conquest was effected only after his rout at the hands of the Muslims, and not prior to that. Had it been otherwise, Mithila traditions and other contemporary accounts would not have left it unnoticed and ignored. Candesvara's account at best refers to the skirmish between the then Nepalese king and the forces of Harisimha in which the former was defeated. He nowhere states that Nepal, after having been conquered, was also occupied. As the borders of these two territories overlapped, such skirmishes might have been frequent.

Moreover, it is not unnatural that a fleeing king should conquer another territory. Such instances are numerous in history. Isāmī, author of the Futuhus-Salātīn, whose account has been accepted by Majumdar, nowhere refers to an open and sanguinary battle between the Rājā of Tirhut and the armies of Ghiyās-uddīn Tughluq. We are simply told that the Rājā retreated into the northern hills. This is further supported by Basātīn-ul-uns, a literary work of the fourteenth century. The chief value of this

²⁵ The account of the Tirhut expedition is given in folios 11A-13A. The manuscript is preserved in the K. P. Jayaswal Institute, Patna. The author is grateful to Prof. S. H. Askari for the information.

book lies in what one gets in it about Ghiyās-uddīn Tughluq and his Tirhut expedition in which the author Muḥammad Sadr Ula Ahmad Hasan Dabir-i-Idusi (entitled Taj and well-known as Ikhtisan) himself was an active participant.

After giving a flowery description of the march of the Tughluq army, the author concludes: "Pale-faced and restless like the falling leaves, he (Harisimhadeva) cited the verses of flight. In the hope of attaining freedom or deliverance, he caught hold of the skirt or declivity of the mountain and, taking his abode in the central belt thereof (kamar-i-koh), he concealed himself like fire in the stone." It is thus clear that Harisimha had not to lose even a single soldier, and, therefore, with the preparations that he undertook to meet the challenge of the invading Muslims, he could have conquered the Nepal valley, which was then torn asunder due to the conflicts of the rival claimants. Moreover, the traditional passage-tyakvā sva-pattana-purīm Harisimhadevo durdaiva-desita-patho girim = āvivesa-clearly indicates that he entered the hills, and not Nepal as Majumdar has interpreted it to suggest. *6 In other words, it is more reasonable to suggest, in the present state of our knowledge, that Harisimha conquered Nepal, after fleeing from the plains, and settled there for the rest of his life. That Harisimha never conquered Nepal, as suggested by some writers referred to above, goes against all historical traditions and genuine inscriptional evidence.

As regards Ghiyās-uddīn's conquest of Tirhut, it is clear from all available accounts—Muslim and non-Muslim—that Harisimha had to flee from Tirhut and seek refuge in the hills. The Muslim army overran the whole plain of Tirhut. We are told that Harisimha successfully defended himself in his impregnable citadel in the dense forest of Nepal Tarai'. 27

This so-called 'successful' heroic and gallant defence carries no meaning in view of the fact that he was forced to abandon his capital and go over to Nepal. Whether or not he had to face an open encounter, the fact remains that he was subdued and forced to leave his own kingdom.

Harisimha is said to have transferred his capital to Simrāon—a place which was geographically and strategically safe keeping in view the impending Muslim invasion and plunder. His predecessors had their capital at other places and by the time of Śaktisimha, the Muslim invaders had already reached the borders of Tirhut. Foresight and statesmanship demanded that the old capital must be transferred to a safer place, from which the king could successfully resist and thus escape the depredations caused by the advancing Muslim army. Simrāon, as we know, was situated on the Nepal-Tirhut border having the dense and impregnable jungles of Nepal at the back, where he could easily take shelter in times of emergency, which he actually did when the occasion arose.

It makes little difference if we accept 1324 or 1325. A.D. as the probable date for Harisimha's entry into Nepal. In either case, there is difference of a few months, which does not in the least affect the Mithilā chronology. Mithilā tradition, however, refers to Śaka 1245 or 1323-24 A.D., and the accounts of the Muslim historians also tend to confirm it. Any way, in our opinion, there is no harm if we accept it. accept it.

²⁸ For different views, see S. Lévi, Le Népal, Vol II, p 220; H. C. Ray, Dyn Hist. North. Ind, Vol. I, p 217, note 2; Journ. As. Soc. Beng., 1915, pp 11-12, notes 4 and 5; Vol LXV, Part I, pp. 30-31.

²⁹ For a detailed account of the Muslim invasion during this period, see R. K. Choudhary, History of Muslim Rule in Tirhut (in the press)

THE LICCHAVI PARISĂ OF VAIŚĀLĪ

SHIV NANDAN MISHRA

The Licchavis were a virile people, proud both of their lineage and institutions, and occupying a place of honour in the country. Their metropolitan assembly or Parisā was one of the stoutest pillars of their magnificent constitutional edifice. We propose to determine its numerical strength on the basis of the Buddhist canonical texts and the Jātakas.

The Buddha showered ecstatic praise on the Licchavi Parisā and compared it with the Parisā of the Tāvatimsa gods. This is significant inasmuch as the decisions of the Parisā of the gods of the Tāvatimsa heaven were inviolable; similarly, the decisions of the Licchavi Parisā were not to be slighted in any way by the Licchavi people. Also the noble bearing of the Licchavi Rājās and their dignified and disciplined code of conduct in the Parisā must have attracted the attention of the Master.

The Anguttara Nikāya at one place simply states: "Now at that time, a great many Licchavi notables were seated assembled in their Moot Hall (Santhāgāra)." Here the number of the participant members is not specified; simply their large number is alluded to. At another place, the same text informs us that while the Buddha was at Vaiśālī, he was worshipped by 500 Licchavi Rājās. At yet another place, the same text states: "Now at that time, 500 Licchavis met and were seated at the Sārandada shrine."

¹ SBE, Vol. XI, p. 32.

² Op. cit, Pt. IV, p. 179.3 Ibid., Pt V, p 133

⁴ Ibid., Pt. III, p. 167.

It would thus be seen that the Anguttara in two contexts refers to 500 Licchavi Rājās occupying the place of honour and commanding some special status. The Majjhima Nikāya, however, is more explicit and hardly leaves any doubt when it states: "Just then 500 of the Licchavis met together in their moot hall on one business or another." Thus, the evidence of the Majjhima regarding the numerical strength of the Licchavi Parisā is not only corroborative of the Anguttara, but is also clearly suggestive of the fact that its strength was 500, neither more nor less.

The same numerical strength is also echoed in one of the Jätakas, viz., the Bhaddasāla Jātaka. It relates how 500 angry Licchavi Rājās pursued the Kosalan commander-in-chief Bandhula of the Malla clan, who had violated the sanctity of their sacred pond, the water of which was used in the annointing (abhiseka) of the republican Licchavi Rājās (gaṇa-rāja-kula). It would thus be seen that at least one Jātaka goes in support of the two Nikāyā texts quoted above.

However, the evidence of the Jātakas has often been taken to furnish a different number. The preamble of the Ekapanna Jātaka runs thus: "In the city of Vaiśālī, there were 7,707 Rājās to govern the state (rajjam kāretvā) and a like number of Uparājas, Senāpatis and Bhanḍāgārikas." The Cullakalinga Jātakas corroborates this evidence: "Tradition says that the Licchavis of the ruling family (Licchavi-rajjinam) to the number of 7,707 had their abode at Vaiśālī and all of them were given to argument and disputation (te sabbe pi paripucchā vitakkā hesum)."

It would be worthwhile to analyse the statement of

⁵ Op. cit., Pt. I, p. 228.

⁶ Jātaka, Vol. IV, p. 149.

⁷ Ibid., Vol. I, p. 505.

the two Jatakas in the light of their own words. The Ekapanna Jataka attributes the governance of the state to 7,707 Licchavi Rājās with the help and assistance of a like number of Uparajas, Senapatis and Bhandagarikas. The Cullakalinga Jataka focusses our attention on the debating habits of these 7,707 Licchavi Rājās. Both these Jātakas establish clearly that the 7,707 Licchavi Rajas were residents of Vaisālī implicitly denying them any separate territorial jurisdiction. None of these Jatakas states expressly that these 7,707 Licchavi Rājās were the members of the Licchavi Parisā of Vaiśālī. Neither do they mention that they were consecrated. We have seen that in the Bhaddasāla Jātaka, when the sanctity of their sacred pond is violated, 500, and not 7,707, Licchavi Rājās chased the violator. From the practical point of view, the number 7,707 is too large for any Santhagara to afford sitting accommodation. If we presume for an instant that the membership of the Parisā was also open to the Uparājas, Senāpatis and Bhandagārikas, the number would swell to 30,828, which would be an absurdity. Moreover, concord and unanimity of views would not have been possible in such a huge body of 7,707 members. These were referred to by the Buddha as the stanchions of the republican edifice of Licchavis.9 Thus, these arguments lead us to two conclusions: that all these 7,707 Licchavi Rājās were not the members of the Licchavi Parisā of Vaisālī; and that all these 7,707 were not consecrated.

At the same time, we cannot lose sight of the special status of $R\bar{a}j\bar{a}$ conferred on them by the Jātakas and also the fact that they were the members of the ruling aristocracy. Thus they seem to have been the heads or representatives of the pioneer Licchavi families of Vaisālī. Together they formed a general body of the ruling

⁸ Ibid., Vol. III, p. 1.

^{9.} Anguttara Nikāya, Pt. IV, pp. 15 ff.

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aristocracy. Obviously, from amongst these 7,707 Licchavi $R\bar{a}j\bar{a}s$, 500 were selected to become the members of the Parisā and were consecrated. The criteria for this selection or election might have been seniority, wisdom, exemplary courage, prowess and blue blood. As such, the Parisā would have consisted of the choicest Licchavi brains and brawns who had proved their mettle and wisdom. This would very well conform to the praise heaped on this Parisā by the great Buddha. These members may have been the Vajjimahallakas to whom the Buddha referred and whom he asked the Licchavis to venerate and to listen to. 10

It can be reasonably suggested that perhaps there were two assemblies at Vaiśāli—(1) a general assembly of 7,707 and (2) a select one of 500 members. These would echo the pattern of the Vedic assemblies of sabhā and samiti.*

¹⁰ Loc. cit.

^{* [}Elsewhere we quoted a few stories about dacoities from the Jātakas, in which the gang of robbers is in all cases mentioned as 500 strong, so that the number 500 appears to be conventional. See *Journ. Or. Inst.*, Vol. XV, p. 378.—Ed.]

DHARMACAKRA-JINA IN THE SĀRNĀTH INSCRIPTION OF KUMĀRADEVĪ

DILIP KUMAR BISWAS

The Sarnath inscription of Kumaradevi, the consort of the Gāhadavāla ruler Govindacandra who belonged to the twelfth century A.D., was edited by Sten Konow in the Epigraphia Indica.1 The object of the record is stated in verses 21-23 and, as summed up by the editor, it reveals the following facts: Jumbukī drew up a copper-plate record in which she represented to queen Kumaradevi that the Dharmacakra-Jina originally set up by Dharmasoka required to be repaired and set up again. The queen accepted her representation and raised her to the rank of "the foremost of pattalikas". She also restored the Jina or set up a new one and placed it in a vihāra which was either the same as has been mentioned in verse 21 apparently containing an image of the goddess Vasudhārā, or a new one constructed for the purpose. Further, the wish is expressed that, after having been placed there, the Jina may remain there for ever.

One of the points of interest in the inscription, apart from the information regarding contemporary political history that it contains, is the reference to the restoration of the Dharmacakra-Jina which is said to have been originally set up 'in the days Dharmasoka the ruler of men' (Dharmasoka-narādhipasya samaye śrī-Dharmacakra-Jino yādrik tan-naya-rakṣitaḥ punar = ayañ = cakre tato = py = adbhutam). Besides the Junāgaḍh rock inscription of the Scythian ruler Rudradāman (2nd century A.D.), this is the only other post-Maurya epigraphic record, so far known, that mentions

¹ Vol. IX, pp 319-28.

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the great Maurya emperor Aśoka.* The latter is supposed to have been mentioned in two other foreign inscriptions discovered at Buddhagaya, viz. one of the Chinese monk Yün-shu (eleventh century) and another Burmese inscription (also ascribed to the eleventh century by Cunningham).2 According to the translation of H.A. Giles, the Chinese record contains a reference to king Asoka who is apparently connected here in some way or other with the building of the sambhogakāya of the Buddha-possibly indicating the present Buddhagayā temple itself, an attribution that cannot be accepted. It should be noted, however, that P. C. Bagchi has translated the inscription a little differently, and he finds no reference to king Asoka in it.8 The Burmese inscription on the other hand clearly reckons the Buddhagayā temple as one of the 84,000 shrines said to have been erected by king Dharmasoka, the ruler of Jambudvīpa, two hundred and eighteen years after the nirvāna of the Buddha.

One should remember that of all these epigraphic references, only that of the Junāgadh record, associating Aśoka's name with the administration of the Surāṣṭra region as well as with the Sudarśana lake, is of purely historical nature. Aśoka's name here is stated without any epithet, as Aśoka the Maurya. Later allusions (including the doubtful one of Yün-shu) mainly show a general acquaintance with the legends and traditions about the Buddhist emperor. This is indicated by the use of the attribution of the raising of 84,000 Buddhist shrines including the finished Buddhagayā temple to him. It is well known to

^{*[}See also the Salihundam inscription in Ep. Ind., Vol. XXXI, pp. 87-88.—Ed.]

² Cunningham, Mahābodhi (Reprint, Varanasi), pp. 69-71, 75-77; B. M. Barua, Gayā and Buddha-Gayā, Vol II, p. 40.

³ India and China, Calcutta, 1944, pp. 89-94.

the students of Aśokan traditions that the epithets Caṇḍāśoka and Dharmāśoka are applied to the Maurya king with reference to the successive phases of his life in the Pāli Mahāvaṁsa⁴ and the Northern Divyāvadāna;⁵ and also both the Southern and Northern Buddhist texts credit Aśoka with the erection of 84,000 shrines.—ārāmas or vihāras in the language of the Pāli source,⁶ and dharmarājikas according to the Divyāvadāna.¹ The Pāli chronicles moreover places Aśoka's consecration two hundred and eighteen years after the parinirvāṇa of the Buddha, a figure mentioned in the aforesaid Burmese inscription at Buddhagayā.

The expression Dharmacakra-Jina occurring in the Sarnath inscription has not yet been explained satisfactorily. Sten Konow has inferred from the description that the Jina, said to have existed since the time of Dharmasoka, was an image of the Buddha and the vihāra built by Kumāradevī for this image was a shrine—a gandhakuţī, the name originally given to the house in which the Buddha had lived and afterwards applied to any shrine or temple in which a Buddha image was installed. He found it difficult to explain the wish expressed in verse 23 that the 'image' might reside there for ever, under any other supposition. Sm. Roma Neogi in her study of the history of Gāhadavāla rule has left the expression virtually unexplained.9 On one occasion, she refers to it as 'an ancient institution' that was 'restored or rebuilt by Kumaradevi'. 10 This description is inappropriate and throws no light on the subject.

⁴ V. 189.

⁵ Ed. Cowell and Neil, pp. 374, 381, 382.

⁶ Dīpavamsa, VI. 96, 99; Buddhaghosa, Samantapāsādikā, Vol. I, pp. 48-49.

⁷ Op. cit., pp. 379, 381.

⁸ Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, p. 320.

⁹ The History of the Gāhadavāla Dynasty, Calcutta, 1959, pp. 158, 199, 205-06, 210.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 210.

Separated from its context, the expression Dharmacakra-Jina would appear to stand for an image of the Buddha in the well-known pose of the 'turning of the Wheel of Law' (dharmacakra-pravartana) or the preaching of his first sermon in the deer-park at Sarnath near Varanasi. The epithet Jina, in the sense of 'conqueror' or 'victor', has been often applied to the Buddha in Buddhist canonical literature.11 This meaning obviously appealed to Sten Konow; but unfortunately he overlooked its difficulties in this particular If the Dharmacakra-Jina is to be associated with the Maurya king Aśoka in the way the epigraphic passage in question does, it cannot possibly have stood for a Buddha image. For, there was a convention against representing the Buddha in human form in early Buddhism, and it is well known to the student of Indian art that the human figure of the Buddha came to be introduced in Indian iconoplastic art nearly four or five centuries after the death of the Master.19 Previous to this, the Buddha had always been represented in art through a number of symbols like the vajrāsana, a couple of footprints, the wheel or the stupa, the sacred bodhi tree and a number of animals like the elephant, lion, bull, etc. Maurya art of the third century B.C. was no exception to this general rule as the almost life-size animal figures crowning the Aśokan columns, most of the animal sculptures as well as the 'wheel' symbol on the abacus of the capitals, the independent sculptured elephants at Dhauli or the engraved line-drawing of an elephant at Kalsi would indicate.* Since therefore the representation of the Buddha in human shape must have

¹¹ Maj]hima Nikāya, I. 171: fitā me pāpakā dhammā tasmāham Jino='ti; cf. also Sutta Nipāta, pp. 379, 679, 989, 996, etc.

^{12.} Coomaraswamy, Hist. Ind. Indon. Art, 1927, p. 31.

^{*[}See also the label of the lost elephant at Girnar (CII, Vol. I, pp. 26-27) —Ed.]

been unknown to the sculpture of Aśoka's day, it is not possible to interpret the expression *Dharmacakra-Jina*, which the Sārnāth inscription associates with Aśoka, as a human image of the Buddha belonging to the reign of the Maurya ruler.

The important point to remember in this connection is that the real meaning of the passage in question would depend largely on the view we take of the nature of the evidence offered by Kumāradevī's record. The Chinese inscription of Yün-shu probably and the Burmese inscription categorically state that Asoka was the builder of the Buddhagaya temple and these base themselves mainly on legend. Modern critical scholarship, however. has refused to accept this traditional account at its "King Asoka", says B.M. Barua, 18 "cannot face value. possibly be given the credit of building the temple on any other ground than that it is he who gave the real impetus to artistic development in the life of the Buddhist holy land. He is far from being the builder of the great shrine." Barua even disagrees with Cunningham's view, based on Hiuen-tsang's description, that the earlier sand-stone enclosure of the Bodhi Tree at Buddhagaya was a railing erected originally by Aśoka.14 If Aśoka's association with Buddhagayā as evidenced by his Rock Edict VIII could later create a traditon-historically inaccurate-of his having been the builder of the said temple, his association with Sārnāth proved by the existence of his pillar there, 15 might possibly also have created a similar tradition which would

¹³ B. M. Barua, Gayā and Buddha-Gayā, Vol. II, p. 40.

¹⁴ Cunningham, Mahābodhi, pp. 4-7; Barua, Gayā and Buddha-Gayā, Vol. II, p. 17.

¹⁵ Northern Buddhist tradition as represented by the *Divyāvadāna* also contains an account of Aśoka's visit to Rṣipatana or Sārnāth among other Buddhist holy places, in the company of Upagupta (cf. *Divyāvadāna*, op. cit., p. 393).

naturally induce subsequent credulous generations, unacquainted with genuine historical facts, to ascribe the origin of any later Buddhist monument or image of the locality, to him. If the reference in the Sarnath inscription of Kumāradevī, in harmony with this popular psychology, drew inspiration from legend, and not from history, the expression Dharmacakra-7ina might after all be interpreted as a Buddha-image posed in the dharmacakra-mudrā; but in that case, we should have to assume further that such an image was centuries later than Asoka, and it is only the memory of the association of the pious Buddhist emperor with the Sarnath region that had led Jambuki to connect its origin with Aśoka.

It is, however, possible to look at the expression from another angle. There is ample evidence that in early Buddhist art the dharmacakra (the Wheel of Doctrine) was one of the sacred symbols representing the Buddha himself. Now, of the Asokan columns, the one at Sarnath is of particular interest to us in this respect. Like the other Asokan pillars, it was a monolith cut out of a single block of sand stone 'crowned by four semi-lions joined back to back at the shoulders'; but its unique feature is that its lion-capital was in its turn crowned by a stone-wheel two feet nine inches in diameter. The original capital and a few pieces of the original wheel, undoubtedly representing the sacred dharmacakra of the Buddhists, are now in the Sārnāth Museum.16 The 'wheel' symbol also figures very prominently on the abacus of the Sarnath capital. This is quite in the fitness of things as Sarnath is the place where the Buddha originally turned the 'Wheel of the Doctrine' according to Buddhist canonical tradition, 17 and

¹⁶ D. R. Sahni, Guide to the Buddhist Remains of Sarnath, Delhi,

^{1933,} pp. 24-25

¹⁷ Samyutta Nikāya, V. 56 11-12,

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a pious Buddhist like Aśoka would naturally wish to crown the column that he erected here with a representation of it. It is to be noted that the similar capital of four lions attached to the Sanchi pillar of Asoka did not support a 'Wheel of the Doctrine' (dharmacakra) as it did at Sārnāth.18 That figures of dharmacakra standing on the top of columns were worshipped by pious Buddhists, is clearly indicated by a medallion from Barhut showing devotees in the act of such worship of the wheel on the capital of a fluted free-standing column.19 In view of the fact that the Dharmacakra-Jina mentioned in the Sarnath inscription is stated to have been originally set up by Aśoka and also that the dharmacakra, an object of reveren ial worship to the Buddhists, used to symbolise the Buddha in the art of the Maurya period, it would not probably be altogether unreasonable to suggest that the Dharmacakra-Jina in the particular context was not a human figure of the Buddha, but actual y a wheel repr senting the 'Wheel of the Doctrine' which originally formed the topmost crown of an Asokan column at Sarnath. Verse 23 of the record indicates that the Dharmacakra-Jina was 'restored' by the queen 'in accordance with the way in which he existed in the days of Dharmasoka'. This apparently means that the holy object was duly enshrined in t e vihāra which, according to verse 21, Kumāradevī had caused to be built. Possibly, by the twelfth century, it had already been detached from the original column and the object actually enshrined was this detached capital carrying the wheel and not the entire pillar. In the seventh century, Hiuen-

¹⁸ Marshall, A Guide to Sanchi, p. 102n. N. R. Ray (Maurya and Sunga Art, Calcutta, 1965, p. 23), perhaps due to an oversight, describes the Sanchi pillar as also having carried a dharmacakra But this would have no relevance at Sanchi.

¹⁹ N. R. Ray, op. cit., p. 117, Plate 40,

III. 1-2] DHARMACAKRA-JINA IN SĀRNĀTH INSCRIPTION 97

tsang speaks of having seen two pillars at Sārnāth in situ before two alleged Aśokan topes; but he does not refer to these being topped by any animal capital or surmounted by wheels. The epithet Jina would be quite natural and suitable when applied to the dharmacakra which, as a symbol of the Buddha, was an object of the highest veneration to the Buddhists. The meaning, 'the Victorious Wheel of the Doctrine', would fit into the context excellently.

In case such a conclusion is accepted, we shall have to assume that the knowledge of Asoka and his times displayed by the Sarnath inscription was not based entirely There is no doubt that such traditions on legends. were in wide circulation among the Buddhists about the time when the charter was drawn up. But we have to suppose further that some faint, but genuinely historical, memory of Aśoka and his monuments must have been alive in the Sarnath region at least till the twelfth century. It is unfortunate that the copper-plate drawn up by Jambuki apparently containing her representations to Kumāradevī about the Dharmacakra-Jina, mentioned in verse 22 of the inscription, has not been recovered.20 There may be some truth in Konow's suggestion that the copper-plate contained detailed information about the original Dharmacakra-Jina and it is not impossible that the said information was partly historical in character throwing light on its association with Aśoka. In this connection one is reminded of D. C. Sircar's suggestion, with regard to the reference to Candragupta and Aśoka in the Junagadh rock inscription of Rudradāman, that apparently Rudradāman had access to some record containing an account of the origin of

²⁰ Cf. śri-Dharmacakra-Jina-śāsana-sannibaddharn sā Jambukī sakala-pattalik-āgrabhūtā | tat=tāmraśāsana-vara[rin] pravidhāya tasyal dattvā tayā śaśi-ravī bhuvi yāvad=āstām. The engraving of the records is careless and the passages bristle with spelling mistakes.

the Sudarsana lake and its connection with the Maurya

Once it is admitted that the Dharmacakra-Jina mentioned in our record can possibly be viewed as the detached and enshrined top of an Aśokan column consisting of an animal capital surmounted by a dharmacakra, a question is likely to be raised whether it is further possible to identify the dharmacakra specifically as coming from the top of any known Aśokan pillar. So far as our knowledge goes, the figure of dharmacakra formed the feature of an Asokan capital only at Sarnath.22 Was it the same one which stood on the top of the existing Aśoka-pillar at Sārnāth and the remains of which are now lodged in the Sarnath Museum? Or, did it come from the top of any other Asokan pillar of the same place which may now have completely disappeared?* Among the local antiquities now stored in the Sarnath Museum, Sahni mentions a large stone-wheel resembling the one that had originally crowned the lion capital of the existing Aśoka-pillar. 25 This wheel may have formed part of another now-lost Asokan column for all we know. Hiuen-tsang mentions having seen two pillars at Sarnath situated before two topes supposed to have been built by Aśoka; but neither is described specifically as an Aśokan pillar by him.24 Nor does he speak of these pillars as · topped by any animal capitals or as surmounted by wheels.

²¹ Select Inscriptions, Vol. I (1st ed), p. 171, note 5.

²² See above, note 18

^{*[}See below the proceedings of Monthly Seminar, No. XXXII, held at the Centre of Advanced Study in AIHC on 177.69—Ed]

²³ Guide to the Buddhist Ruins of Sarnath, p 26

²⁴ Watters, On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India, Vol II, pp. 48, 50; Beal, Buddhist Records of the Western World, Vol. II, pp. 45-46. D R. Sahnı's statement (Guide, p 26) that the Chinese pilgrims (sic) mention only one pillar of Aśoka at Sārnāth is misleading. Fa-hien and I-tsing do not refer to having seen any Aśokan column at Sārnāth

From the general vagueness of the Chinese pilgrim's account, it is not possible to come to any definite conclusion with regard to the point whether he actually saw one Aśokan column or two, at Sarnath. Assuming that the Chinese pilgrims mention only one Asokan pillar at Sārnāth, Sahni suggests that the second wheel might have belonged to the sunga period; but this argument has no force as his basic assumption rests on insufficient grounds. It is therefore difficult to be sure in the present state of our knowledge whether the second dharmacakra, the remains of which have been discovered at Sarnath, formed part of any Aśokan pillar or not. In these circumstances, it is perhaps no use speculating if it is possible to identify the Dharmacakra-Jina mentioned in Kumāradevi's inscription with the famous Sārnāth lion-capital surmounted by the dharmacakra which originally topped the existing Aśokan pillar at Sārnāth.

In conclusion, it may be noted that the goddess Vasudhārā mentioned in verse 21 of the inscription, belongs to two distinct groups of the Buddhist Vajrayana pantheon, viz. the Aksobhya and Ratnasambhava groups. In the former, she appears as the sakti of the god Jambhala; in the latter, she plays a comparatively independent role though remaining subordinate to the Buddha Ratnasambhava. In both these forms, she appears as the goddess of plenty and abundance. 25 The Sārnāth inscription describes her as 'saviour' (tārinī), the actual expression being 'by Vasudhārā the saviour' (tārinyā Vasudhārayā). Sten Konow's translation 'by Vasudhārā in the shape of Tārinī' seems to miss the point by taking tāriņī as a proper name. Konow seems to have regarded Tāriņī as the name of an independent goddess and suggested her identification with Vasudhārā in his translation. Sm. Neogi also takes Tāriņī

²⁵ B Bhattacharya, Indian Buddhist Iconography (Calcutta, 1958), pp. 202-03,

as a proper name, presumably of a goddess. 26 In the later Buddhist pantheon, Tāriṇī is another name of the well-known goddess Tārā, according to a dhyāna found in the Paūcākāra section of the Advayavajrasamgraha; 27 but she is hardly ever known to have been identified with Vasudhārā. There seems thus to be no justification for suggesting the identification in the present context, and it is safer to take tāriṇī as a simple adjective qualifying Vasudhārā. It is interesting that excavations at Sārnāth have yielded at least three fragmentary images of Vasudhārā. 28

²⁶ Op. cit., p. 209.

²⁷ B Bhattacharya, op cit., p. 58.

²⁸ Sahnı, op cit, p. 31,

THE STATUS OF GOVINDAGUPTA

JAGANNATH AGRAWAL

The name of Govindagupta became known for the first time with the discovery and publication of the seal of Candragupta II's Chief Queen, Dhruvasvāminī, While · publishing the seal, Bloch expressed the opinion that Govindagupta was probably a younger son of Candragupta II. Bloch made this observation obviously because he took it for granted that Kumaragupta I was the eldest son and successor of his father, as indicated by the sequence of the inscriptions. D. R. Bhandarkar gave a careful thought to the wording of the Vaisali seal,2 and made the following cogent remarks, "But let us proceed a step further and ask why, if Kumāragupta was also a son of Candragupta and Dhruvadevi, his name is omitted and that of Govindagupta alone mentioned. The name of the latter only is specified because I think he was the Yuvarāja. For in the seal of a queen, it is natural to expect the names of her husband the king and her son who is heir-apparent to the throne."8 But this ingeneous suggestion of Bhandarkar, did not receive much attention, obviously because no inscriptions of Govindagupta were known, which would furnish proof of his having occupied the Gupta throne for sometime. Moreover, as the interval between the last known date of Candragupta II, viz. year 93 as given in the Sanchi inscription, and the earliest known date of Kumaragupta, viz. year 96,4 was only three years, it was presumed

¹ ASI, AR, 1903-04, pp. 101 ff.

² The text of the seal is as follows:—(1) Mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Candragupta-(2) patnī Mahārāja-śrī-Govindagupta-(3) mātā Mahādevī-śrī-Dhruvasvāminī.

³ Ind. Ant., 1912, p 3

⁴ See the Bilsad stone pillar inscription.

that the latter must have been the immediate successor of the former.

In 1923, however, a stone inscription, dated Mālava Samvat 524, was discovered from Mandasor, which gives some new facts about Candragupta II and Govindagupta. The inscription makes the following statements regarding Govindagupta:—

Govinda-vat-khyāta-guṇa-prabhāvo
Govindagupt-orjjita-namadheyam |
Vasundaresas = tanayam prajajñe
sa Dity-Adityos = tanayais = sa-rūpam ||
yasmin = nṛpair-astamita-pratāpais =
śirobhir = ālingita- pāda-padme |
vicāra-dolām Vibudh = ādhipo = pi
śankā-parītaḥ samupāruroha ||

"That lord of the earth (Candragupta), whose virtues and prowess were famous like that of Kṛṣṇa, begat a son who resembled in form the progeny of Diti (mother of the demons) and Aditi (mother of the gods) [and] who bore the exalted appellation, Govindagupta. When he, whose lotus-like feet were embraced (i.e. touched), with their heads, by the kings whose glory had vanished, [was ruling], even the Lord of the gods overtaken by suspicion, mounted upon the swing of [conflicting] ideas."

From the statement made in the second verse, that the kings, whose glory had departed, embraced the lotus-like feet of Govindagupta with their heads, it may be reasonably inferred that he had under his suzerainty, a large number of feudatory kings.

Equally significant is the mention in this very inscription

⁵ The inscription has since been published in Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVII, pp. 12-18.

of Vāyurakṣita as the Commander of the forces of Govindagupta, for only an independent king can be supposed to have a standing army.* These two facts, combined with the inference drawn from the Basarh seal of Dhruvasvāminī that Govindagupta was the Yuvarāja, would go to establish that Govindagupta was not a younger prince, who did not ascend the throne. On the contrary, it indicates that Govindagupta was a great king. Of course, he ruled for a short time only, between the Gupta years 93 and 96.

We made this suggestion in our article published in the Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. XXII, pp. 286-90. D.C. Sircar criticised our views in the same Journal, Vol. XXIV, pp. 72-75. We propose here to deal with the objections raised by Sircar. His first observation is that simply because a number of kings paid homage to Govindagupta, he cannot be regarded as an imperial ruler, as even subordinate chiefs are known to have enjoyed the allegiance of smaller feudatories; and he quotes the instance of Mahāsāmata Mahārāja Varunasena of the Nirmand plate. But it is not at all a parallel case, for here the Samantas or smaller feudatories are said to have paid homage to a higher dignitary who was a Mahāsāmanta and a Mahārāja. It is not stated here that the Mahāsāmantas or Mahāsājas paid homage to Varunasena, a ruler having the subordinate title of Mahārāja. Sircar next quotes the instances of Meghanada and Raghu who defeated Indra 'without being kings themselves'. again he misses the real point. Both Meghanāda and Raghu

⁶ Cf. Senāpatis=tasya babhūva nāmnā Vāyv-ādinā raksita-paścimena.

^{&#}x27; [According to the Mālavikāgnimitra, Agnimitra, Pusyamitra's viceroy at Vidišā, had his own amātya (minister) and dandacakra (fighting force) under commanders one of whom he appointed as governor of a border-fort (antahpāla-durga) —Ed]

⁷ Fleet, Corp. Ins. Ind, Vol. III, pp. 286 ff.

fought on behalf of their sires, and not on their own. Raghu was deputed by Dilīpa to guard the sacrificial horse and so was Meghanāda deputed by Rāvaṇa to humiliate Indra. We fail to understand how these instances have any bearing on the present case.*

Sircar further avers that Viśvavarman king of Daśapura, whom he takes to be a subordinate ruler, is described in his Gangdhar inscription as having conquered Indra. But how does he conclude that Viśvavarman was a subordinate ruler in 423 A.D. when the Gangdhar inscription was put up? There is no mention of any paramount sovereign in this record. When compared with the Mandasor inscription of the guild of silk-weavers, the Gangdhar inscription points to the independent status of the Aulikaras in 423 A.D. The earliest known reference to the sovereignty of the Guptas over Daśapura belongs to the time of Bandhuvarman who was ruling in the Mālava year 493=436 A.D., when Kumāragupta was ruling over the earth.

Similarly, the reference to the Pallava grants have no bearing on the present problem. We have never said that the heirs-apparent did not issue orders. Quite contrary to it, we concede that some of the Gupta princes were appointed as provincial governors and Govindagupta too seems to have acted as such either at Vaisālī or elsewhere. But that is besides the point. The crux of the problem lies in deciding whether the reference in the Mandasor inscription of the Mālava year 524 as embodied in

^{*[}Having feudatories and being feared by Indra do not seem to require one to be an imperial or independent ruler—Ed]

⁸ Cf. Kumāragupte prthivīņi prašāsati. [With the extirpation of the Western Satraps and the expansion of Candragupta's power over Western India, the Aulikaras of Dašapura apparently submitted to the Gupta emperor. Višvavarman's father Naravarman is described as the follower of Sirihavikrānta (Candragupta II). See Sel. Ins., 1965, p. 398, note 1—Ed.]

the verse $tasmin = nipair^o$, etc., is to the time when Govindagupta was an emperor or to the period of his governorship.

holds that the Vākātaka kings, 'appointed Senāpatis in the capacity of Viceroys over territories including rāj yas and rājās (cf. the Chammak plates of Pravarasena II referring to the Bhojakata-rajya forming a part of the Vākāṭaka dominions), and the vassal chief Satrughnarāia and his son Kondarāja (apparently rulers of the Bhojakatarājya) and to the Senāpati Citravarman.' A close examination of the Chammak and other Vākātaka grants will reveal that there is no force in Sircar's reasoning. There is not the slightest indication in the Chammak grant to show either that Kondarāja, at whose instance the grant was made, was a feudatory ruler, or that Bhojakata was a feudatory state, or that Citravarman was the viceroy of Bhojakata. The absence of any royal title like Mahārāja, before the names of Satrughnaraja and Kondaraja, in this prose passsage not involving any exigencies of metre, goes against the presumption that they were rulers. Moreover, the omission even of the customary honorific sri before their names, shows that they were ordinary persons.* The fact that they have requested the king to make the grant does not prove their royal status, for it is well known that grants were made even at the instance of common people. The villages granted by means of the Chammak charter are described as lying in the conquered (i.e. crown) territory-vaijayike sthane. If we compare this expression with the vijita of Aśokan inscriptions, it would be clear that the territory was a crown-province and not a feudatory state.**

^{* [}It is difficult to agree with these views. Cf Sel Ins, p 177.—Ed.]
** [In the Chammak plates (line 23), vaijayika (conferring or fore-

telling victory) is associated with *dharmasthāna*, 'a holy place', where the grant in question was made by the king.—Ed.]

The use of the term $r\bar{a}j\gamma a$ with Bhojakaṭa does not prove that it was a feudatory state. In the Vākāṭaka grants, the term $r\bar{a}j\gamma a$ is used for a province or division of modern times. For example, in the Dudia plates of Pravarasena II, there is mention of the Ārammi-rājya, which was administered by the king's own officers; cf. $\dot{s}r\bar{i}$ -Pravarasena-vacanāt Ārammi-rājye asmat-santakā sarv-ādhyakṣa-niyoga-niyuktāḥ. Here it is specifically stated that the order is addressed to the officers of the crown appointed by the order of the king's Controller General.*

The suggestion that the feudatory kings Satrughnaraja and Kondarāja were under the Senāpati Citravarman, who acted as a sort of Viceroy, is utterly opposed to the true import of this statement. The locative in the expression senāpatau Citravarmani, is a locative absolute, and it simply means that the charter was drafted and issued under the supervision of the Senāpati who, in the Vākātaka charters, functions in place of the Sandhivigrahika mentioned in the law books and in the grants of other dynasties. Seoni plates of Pravarasena II, we have the expression: senāpatau Bappadeve, likhitam Ācāryenaº (written by Ācārya when Bappadeva is the Senāpati). As these charters have been issued from Pravarapura, the Vākāṭaka capital, the inference is obvious that it was an officer of the Vākātaka court, who supervised its writing. The Seoni grant was made in the Division called Bennākorpara-bhāga—a purely Vākātaka territory. No feudatory chief ruled over it. Here Bappasvāmin was discharging the functions ordinarily associated with the Sandhivigrahika. He was not acting as a Viceroy over some feudatory.

To conclude, since Dasapura was ruled over by the feudatory dynasty of the Aulikaras, there was no room for

^{* [}The interpretation seems to be doubtful.—Ed.]

⁹ Fleet, op cit, p 247.

the appointment of an imperial representative of the Guptas at Dasapura. If the Mandasor inscription of the Mālava Samvat 524 indicates anything, it is that Govindagupta succeeded his father Candragupta II, as an imperial ruler, to whom a large number of feudatory kings owed allegiance, and the son of whose commander-in-chief erected a Stūpa at Dasapura.*

^{*[}Govindagupta seems to have been the viceroy of Western India in which there were many states like that of the Aulikaras The traditional association of Ujiayinī with Vikramāditya (Candragupta II) may suggest that, after the extirpation of the Sakas who had their capital at that city, Govindagupta was stationed there as his father's viceroy of the western province. Likewise, the Vākāṭaka Senāpatis seem to have been viceroys over provinces containing territories including a few rājyas under Rājans They were in charge of the areas in which the gift lands were situated. Some of our views expressed in IHQ appear to have been misunderstood Even if Govindagupta was the Yuvarāja, he may have predeceased his father—Ed.]

COSMOGONY IN PALI LITERATURE

JNANRANJAN HALDAR

The Pali Buddhist literature does not speak of any Creator-God. It gives more emphasis upon the attainment of nibbana than the knowledge of the origin of the universe, and according to the Buddha, the question on speculation about the world (loka-cintā)1 is unprofitable2 because it is not conducive to reaching the state of nibbana.3 Though in the Pali works, one does not generally meet with the creationtheory, it mentions the never-ending cycles of destruction and renovation of the universe, which are caused by the endless cycles of fixed causes. A. L. Basham⁵ states that this conception is borrowed from 'the Hindu doctrine of cosmic decline'. W. M. McGovern' points out that the 'doctrine of the never-ending cycle of creation and destruction' is pre-Buddhistic as it 'was only evolved by the Aryan mind after the period of the Vedas'. The post-Vedic Hindu mythology, particularly the epico-Puranic mythology,7 however, speaks not only of the endless cycles

^{1 &#}x27;Who made the moon and sun, who made the earth, the ocean, the beings, mountains, mangoes, coconuts, etc?' (Kindied Sayings, PTS, Vol V, p 377, note 2).

² Samyuttanıkāya, PTS, Vol. V, p 447

³ Nibbāna=cessation of existence. It is all bliss There is no intermingling of pain in it (Milindapañha, PTS, Part II, pp 313ff.; Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XXXVI, pp 182-85).

⁴ Visuddhimagga, PTS, Vol. II, pp. 414-22; Dīghanikāya, PTS, Vol. III, pp. 28f, 84-95

⁵ Prācyavidyā-tarangmī (Golden Jubilee Volume of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, University of Calcutta), pp. 59f

⁶ A Manual of Buddhist Philosophy, p 9.

⁷ E Washburn Hopkins, Epic Mythology, pp 189, 194, 196.

of creation (day) and destruction (sleep) of the god Brahman, but also of Brahman Himself as the creator of the universe. The Brāmanical claim for the supremacy of Brahman as creator has been refuted in the Dīgha⁸ and Ma_{IJ}hima⁹ Nikāyas. Thus it is found that the Hindu conception of the neverending cycles of creation and destruction is placed differently in Pali literature which says¹⁰ that the regions from Vehapphala to the Arūpa-Brahmaloka¹¹ are not subject to destruction. This suggests that there is no origin or end of the world.¹² It ever was, and will be for ever.¹⁸

However, when the world-system, a long time after its destruction¹⁴ by fire, begins to re-evolve¹⁵ with the power of the united merit of all orders of beings in existence,¹⁶ a great rain-cloud appears and fills up all the burnt places of the hundred thousand myriad world-systems. Then wind rises from below and across the water, and holds it in a mass, rounding it like a water-drop on a lotus-leaf. The water, being collected together, held in a mass by

⁸ Vol I, pp. 17-18; Vol. III, pp. 28-30.

⁹ Vol I, pp 326-21.

¹⁰ Visuddhimagga, PTS, Vol. II, pp. 414-22.

¹¹ The universe consists of innumerable cakkavāļas, i.e. worldsystems or spheres (anantāni cakkavāļāni, anantā lokadhātuyo; cf. Visuddhimagga, Vol I, p 207; Samantapāsādikā, PTS, Vol. I, p. 120; Suttanīpāta Commentary, PTS, Vol II, p 433) and in each cakkavāļa, there are 31 abodes of living beings which are divided into three groups—(1) Kāmaloka (purgatory, animal kingdom, Peta world, Asura world, human world and the six devalokas), (2) Rūpaloka (16 abodes of Rūpa-Brahman), and (3) Arūpaloka (4 abodes of Arūpa-Brahman). Vehapphala is the 10th Rūpabrahmaloka.

¹² The beginning of samsāra (world) is incalculable (Kindred Sayings, Vol II, p. 118).

¹³ Cf. R. Spence Hardy, A Manual of Buddhism, 1860, p. 5.

¹⁴ The universe is destroyed by fire, water and wind (Visuddhimagga, Vol. II, pp 414-17, 420-21).

¹⁵ Ibid, p 417-20. Cf Dighanikāya, Vol III, pp 28; 24-29.

¹⁶ Hardy, op cit, pp. 34f.

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the wind, in receding, begins to descend. When the water gradually descends, the lower Brahma-worlds and Devaworlds are formed in the place of those destroyed. In descending to the former site of the earth, the water is caught by strong winds, like water kept in a water-bag whose mouth is closed. The sweet water in receding gives rise to a tasty earth above, which looks like a film on undiluted rice-porridge being endowed with colour, odour and taste. Then beings who were born in the Abhassara Brahma-world, during destruction, pass away thence, either on account of the inferiority of their merit, or because their period of residence in that loka is complete, and appear on the earth. 17 As these beings are self-illuminated, they can traverse the firmament. But their self-illumination disappears when they lick the tasty earth and, overcome by craving, try to eat in mouthfuls. As a result, they fall in darkness and become frightened. But they become glad and delighted when the sun appears. As the sun (50 yojanas in size), after shining during day, sets, the moon (49 yo₁anas in size) appears for removing the darkness at night. After the appearance of the sun and the moon, the stars and constellations come into sight. From that time, day and night appear, and gradually the month, the half-month, the seasons, and the year also appear. On the full-moon day of the month of Phagguna, Sineru, the world-system, and the Himālaya mountain appear simultaneously. When millet is cooked, a number of bubbles are formed upon the surface of the water, and there are some parts of that surface which are elevated, low and level; in a like manner, at the formation of the world-system, the elevated places are mountains, the low places are oceans, and the level places are islands.

¹⁷ Cf. Dîghanikāya, Vol III, p. 30,

Those who have eaten the tasty earth are beautiful; they despise the ugly ones who have not eaten the tasty earth. Due to this, the tasty earth disappears, and an earthly outgrowth appears. For the same reason, that also disappears, and a creeper called bodālatā appears. of the same reason, that also disappears. Then there appears paddy not cooked with the aid of fuel (akatthapāko sāli pātubhavati), free from the coating of red powder, yielding huskless, pure, sweet-smelling rice. Then vessels appear and when the people place the paddy in the vessels on rocks, a flame of fire rising of its own accord cooks it. When they eat that food, they develop urine and excrement. to let them go out, holes like the mouths of wounds open up in their bodies. Then masculinity and femininity appear. And in the female appear the distinctive features of the female, and in the male those of the male. Now man and woman begin to gaze at each other, and lust arise's. Following their sensual instincts they practise evil and, to conceal their sin, they make houses wherein they dwell. At one stage of the process, following the practice of an unknown lazy man, they hoard up their grains. Then setting up of boundaries, acquisition of private property, crime and immorality, law and state appear. The people choose a man from among themselves for becoming their king who would maintain law and order in the state. For his expenses, the king is given a share of grains and he becomes khettanam pati (lord of the fields) and is called Khattiya. Thus the class of Khattiya arises and in due course the other castes, viz. Brāhmana, Vessa and Sudda are also formed.

When the world is renovated after its destruction by fire, water and wind, the method of evolution is the same in each case only with this little difference: when the world appears after its destruction by fire, the beings from the Abhassara Brahma-world pass away and are reborn in the lower Brahma-lokas and other places; when the world

MATHURĀ PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF THE GUPTA YEAR 61

P. R. SRINIVASAN

This inscription was edited by D. R. Bhandarkar in the Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XX1, pp. 1 ff., with a facsimile which is, however, not very clear. In view of the fact that it contains the year 61 in a passage giving the details of date in lines 4-5, it has been rightly held to be a very important record of the Gupta dynasty. There are also other points of interest in this epigraph. Some scholars have suggested the restoration of a few lost letters, after the expression samvatsa[re] in line 3, so as to read either prathame Gupta¹ or [pam]cam[e*] [5], thus investing the epigraph with greater importance.

A close examination of the facsimile of the record accompanying Bhandarkar's article will show that neither of these restorations is possible in the place. As has been stated by Bhandarkar, the engraving is irregular and words and letters are often widely separated from each other. In the place in question in line 3 after samvatsa, only four akṣaras could possibly be accommodated. Of the four, re is certain because it completes the word samvatsare. After re, there is space only for three akṣaras at the most, although Bhandarkar has given four dots after [re] and has suggested, besides, [Gupta] after the fourth dot. Of

¹ D. B Diskalkar in ABORI, Vol. XVIII, p. 170.

² D C Sircar in IHQ, Vol. XVIII, p 272; and repeated in Select Inscriptions (see 2nd ed., 1965, p. 277).

³ The Classical Age, ed. R. C. Majumdar, p. 18.

⁴ Op. cit., p. 8, text line 3. [The arguments regarding the accommodation of akṣaras in the available space appear to be problematical—Ed]

the three akṣaras required in this place, the first one is totally lost; but traces of the second and third letters appear to exist. The second akṣara looks like ptā while the remnants of the third suggest that it was in all likelihood nām. These two akṣaras together then read ptānām. This will immediately suggest the totally lost first akṣara to be Gu, so that the word is Guptānām, and the passage in line 3 of the record will read as osya vija[ya*]-rājya-samvatsa[re Guptānām] kāl-ānuvarttamāna-samo.

This restoration of the lost akṣaras seems to be quite in accord with the practice of drafting of the Gupta royal records none of which, known so far, has quoted the regnal year of the ruling king. This is particularly noticeable in the inscriptions of Candragupta II, like the Udayagiri cave inscription, year 82,6 and the Sanchi stone inscription, year 93,7 where the year of the era is alone given. In these two instances, however, the details of date are given in a much simple way; e.g., Udayagiri—samvatsare 80 2 Āṣādha-māṣa-śukle'l-ai)kādalyām; and Sanchi—sam 90 3 Bhādrapada di 4.9 It may be said that this manner of quoting the particulars of the date was due to the fact that these records were issued by the subordinates of the king and not by the king himself. If this is so, the Mathurā

^{5 [}An obvious drawback of this conjectural reading is the use of the word sanivatsare twice before the number 61, the possibility being that there was a number after vijayarājya-sanivatsare just as there is one after kāl-ānuvarttamāna-sanivatsare. The Mathurā inscription referred to below shows that no dynastic name (as in Guptānām) was expected before kāl-ānuvarttamāna-sanivatsare. It must be noticed that the Mathurā inscription of Candragupta II is the earliest record dated in the Gupta era and that its dating has peculiarities not noticed in the later records of the Guptas.—Ed.]

⁶ CII, Vol. III, pp 21 ff.

⁷ Ibid., pp. 29 ff.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p 25.

⁹ Ibid, p. 32,

inscription under review is also of the same category. In the records of the successors of Candragupta II, the practice of giving the details is as follows: \$\frict{sri-Kum\tilde{a}ragupta-r\tilde{a}jya-samvatsare}\$] in the Gadhwa stone inscription of where the date is lost, [Kum\tilde{a}ragupta-r\tilde{a}jya-samvatsa]re 90 \(\tilde{\tilde{a}}\$ in the other record from the same place where, however, the phrase has to be restored, and Kum\tilde{a}raguptasy = \tilde{a}bhivarddham\tilde{a}na-vijaya-r\tilde{a}jya-samvatsare shan-navate in the Bilsad stone-pillar inscription. It is noteworthy that the expression vijaya-r\tilde{a}jya-samvatsare is common to the Bilsad inscription and the record under study.

So far no Gupta record, bearing an earlier date than 61 which is the date of the record under study, has been discovered and it is in this record that the significant phrase Guptānām kāl-ānuvarttamāna-samvatsare is found. In a record18 from Mathura belonging to a period earlier than that of the Guptas the details of the date are given as * kāl-ānuvarttamāna-samvatsare 70 Bhādravada-divase saptāvinse 20 7. The first part of this passage is identical with the wording in our record with the difference that in the latter the word Guptānām precedes this phrase. The reason for the absence of a word similar in import to the word Guptānām in the earlier Mathura record is not known. It may have been due to the fact that the date of the record was in an era already well known to the people and that therefore there was no necessity to qualify the phrase. In the present case, however, the qualifying word Guptānām seems to have been put there with a definite purpose. It is possible that, upto the time of this record, the people of the North were familiar with the dates reckoned in an era different from

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 40.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 41.

¹² Ibid., p. 43.

¹³ Luders, Mathura Inscriptions (ed. Janert), p. 113.

those in the Gupta era. In order to remove any confusion that was likely to have been caused by continuing to describe the date simply as kāl-ānuvarttamāna-samvatsara, the persons entrusted with the work of drafting the record under study had necessarily to distinguish the date of the record as one of the Gupta-samvatsara. There was perhaps also another reason for this distinction. It was at Mathura that the use of the earlier era was in vogue. So, if the inscription under study, which was put up in the very same place, also contained the same phrase describing the date in the same manner as the records dated in the earlier era, the confusion would have been great. The phrase Guptanam kal-anuvarttamanasamvatsare may have been used here to counteract this confusion also. It may be said that, if this were so, why this phrase is not found used in the Gupta records bearing dates later than the year 61. The Gupta record belonging to a period subsequent to the present record, which is dated in the year 61, is the Udayagiri cave inscription which is dated in 🗸 the year 82, and which is of the same king, Candragupta II. This record, as has been stated already, does not make use of the phrase mentioned above. The omission of this phrase here as well as in all the subsequent records, seems to have been due to the fact that by the time of the Udayagiri inscription which is dated 21 years later than the Mathura record under study, the Gupta era was evidently well established in the extensive kingdom of the Guptas and was popular with the people, and hence the necessity to repeat the old phraseology was absent and the practice was, therefore, abandoned.14 The correction of the reading in line 3

^{14 [}The descendants of Candragupta I only began to assume gupta-ending names after that monarch, so that the name 'Gupta dynasty' began to be popular at a later date (from the time of Candragupta II) See Sircar, Ind. Ep, pp 423-24 Moreover, the era is called Gupta-prakāla in the Junagarh inscription of Skandagupta. dated 457-458 AD. See Sircar, Sel Ins., Vol. I. 1965. p 312, verse 12—Ed]

offered above would leave the matter relating to the date of accession of Candragupta II, as it was before the restoration of the date was suggested.

The teacher Upamita and his teacher Kapila, were evidently dead at the time when the record was put up because the inscription states that two lingus, one in the name of Upamita and another in the name of Kapila, were established, in commemoration of these teachers (gurunām ca kirty-artham, line 9), and for the religious merit of Uditācārya's self (sva-puny-āpyāyana-nimittam, line 8). Udit-ācārya is given the epithet arya which is explained by Bhandarkar as denoting ownership, here the ownership of the gurv-āyatana. In support of this, he cites verse 34 in the Cintra praiasti, 18 where the second half of the verse reads $\bar{A}ryam = ena\hat{m}$ vinirmāya sastham cakre mahattaram. This passage has been translated as, "having made him an Arra, appointed him the sixth Mahattara". The Cintra praiasti too appears to belong to the same or almost the same sect of Saivism as that to which the Mathura record belongs and that, therefore, the technical terms occurring in both may have the same or similar connotation. According to the prasasti, the teacher named Tripurantaka was made an Arya first and was then made the sixth Mahattara. Here the word Arva seems to have been used in a technical sense. It seems to mean not that an un- $\bar{A}rya$ was made into an $\bar{A}rya$, but that a lay member or preacher of the sect was initiated into teacherhood, as is common even today in several religious orders. this initiation, he seems to have been qualified to be made the Mahattara which term in the context of the prasasti appears to denote only a pontiff or priest. On this analogy, the word Arya qualifying Udit-ācārya in the record under study may have to be taken as meaning that the said ācārya

¹⁵ Ep. Ind., Vol. I, pp. 275, 283.

was already a qualified person to officiate as priest in a temple like the gurv-āyatana. If this is so, then Bhandarkar's interpretation that Ārya means an 'owner' and Sircar's suggestion¹⁶ that this is the epithet of a living ascetic of the sect, have to be modified.

In line 10 of the record the text is as follows: gurvvāyatane guru......pratisthāpito(tau) n=aio. Here, after the word guru in the middle, there is space only for three aksaras and Bhandarkar has actually put only three dots there 17 although he mentions earlier that there were at least five letters here. 18 Accordingly, in a foot-note, 19 he suggests that the lost aksaras may be restored as pratimā-vutau, a word with five aksaras. After suggesting this impossible restoration he has given the translation of the passage as, '[comprising the portraits of] the teachers were installed in the Teachers' shrine', and has argued at length to show that the two lingas set up by Udit-ācārya bore portraits of the two teachers 💉 Upamita and Kapila.20 Sircar goes a step further and says that the lingas were so shaped as to have the representations of the teachers on their shafts, which looked as though they bear the linga on their head.21 Sircar's argument is, on the face of it, fanciful, while Bhandarkar's restoration suffers from the want of accommodation for two more aksaras in the space which could accommodate not more than three letters only. Moreover, he has not cited a single example of a sculpture of this type although he refers to the devakula mentioned in the Pratimā-nāṭaka and to the occurrence of the word devakula in the Kuṣāna records.*2 Even today the

¹⁶ Select Inscriptions, op cit., p. 278, note 3.

¹⁷ Ep. Ind., Vol. XXI, p. 9.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 5.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 9, note 1.

²⁰ Ibid, p. 5

²¹ IHQ, Vol XVIII, p. 275.

²² Ep Ind., Vol. XXI, pp. 4-5.

practice of installing a Siva-linga on the grave of a dead ascetic is widely in vogue, and these memorial lingas do not have portraits of the ascetics carved on them. If this modern practice can be taken as indicative of the perpetuation of an ancient custom, the same practice is referred to in the present record. So, in the space after guru in line 10, some such word as samādhau, having the required number of letters, may be presumed to have been engraved. With this restoration, the meaning of the passage would be—'in the Teachers' shrine, on the graves of the teachers, the two were installed'.

The passage in lines 11 to 14 has been interpreted by Bhandarkar in one way²⁸ and 'quite differently' by Sircar.²⁴ A further examination, however, shows that both these scholars are only partly correct, while the correct interpretation of the passage will be as follows: "this is not written for [my] glory. The worshippers of Maheśvara are requested and are addressed: 'Knowing that [this shrine] [has become the property of or has been dedicated to] the teachers, [Māheśvaras] should in the course of [their] time (yathā kālēna)²⁵ without hesitation offer worship to and honour [the lingas at the shrine] as well as protect the property, in proper times.' This is the request."

The passage yas = ca kirty-abhidroham kuryyād = $yas = c = \bar{a}bhilikhitam = uparyy = adho vā (line 15-16) has been translated by Bhandarkar as "whosoever will do harm to these materials or [destroy] the writing above or below", <math>^{26}$ after

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²³ Ibid., p. 9.

²⁴ IHQ, Vol. XVIII, p. 274.

²⁵ Both Bhandarkar and Sircar have taken these words as constituting a single word yathā-kālena; but in compound form only yathā-kālam is permissible. [The language of the record is influenced by Prakrit and yathā-kālena would mean 'in proper time' according to Prakrit grammar. See Sircar, A Grammar of the Prakrit Language, p. 62.—Ed.]

²⁶ Ep. Ind., Vol. XXI, p. 9.

suggesting a word like *ucchindyāt* after $v\bar{a}$ given above. The following interpretation would, however, seem more proper: "whosoever will do harm to this shrine $(k\bar{i}rtti)$ and whosoever transgresses or condemns this edict $(abhilikhitam = uparyy = adho v\bar{a} [kuryāt]$."

Finally, the passagge in the last line of the record transcribed by Bhandarkar as: jayati bhagavā[n=Dandah] (Dandah) rudia-dando = gra-nāyako nitya[m], and translated by him as, "And may the divine Danda be always victorious, whose staff is terrific and who is the foremost leader," requires significant modification. In the passage quoted above, the word rudradanda is to be taken as Rudra-danda (the staff of Rudra) and it is this Rudra-danda, in its personified aspect, that is addressed as Bhagavan Dandah who is described as agra-nāyakah. The translation of the passage would then be: "the divine Danda, i.e., the staff of Rudra (Rudra-danda), who is the foremost leader [of the Saivas], is always victorious." Obviously the staff here referred to means the trisula (trident) of the god Rudra or Siva, and interestingly the reference appears to be to the representation of the trisula on the pillar on which the inscription is engraved. This pillar has been elaborately described by Bhandarkar²⁷ who is inclined to call it a pilaster, with the sculpture of a trident carved on the fine dressed surface at the top. In fact, the top portion of the pillar is apparently designed to be the top of the Rudradanda, showing the three prongs of the trident referred to in the inscription, while the octagonal section below the top part represents the shaft for holding the three-pronged part. This can be easily seen from its illustration on Plate CXX(e) in ASI, A.R., for 1930-34, Pt. II. The standing figure at the

²⁷ Ibid., pp. 7-8.

bottom portion of this Rudra-danda has been identified by Bhandarkar as Lakuliśa, and as one 'which cannot belong to the fourth century A.D.' Moreover, according to him, the interest of this figure also lies in the fact that it is in standing posture while the known figures of Lakuliśa all belonging to the medieval period are in a sitting posture; and besides, while the latter figures are shown with their membrum virile upraised, the figure under reference does not show this feature, because this feature cannot be represented in a standing figure. As regards the last mentioned point, it may be said that there are numerous standing figures of male deities of Saivism from North India, showing the membrum virile upraised; as for instance, the broken Mahavinayaka (6th-7th century A.D.) from Kabul illustrated on Plate facing p. 46 in Ep. Ind., Vol. XXXV, as well as the figure of Siva of the Siva-Pārvatī panel from Kosam in The Classical Age, Plate XXIII, Fig 53. As regards the identification of the figure, it does not seem to represent Lakuliśa; but on the other hand, it may be a representation of the Rudradanda-purusa, similar to the representation of Ayudha-Purusas like Cakra-purusa, very common in the Gupta period. This representation of the Rudra-danda appears to have been intended to be set up in front of the 'Teachers' shrine' just as the Besnagar Garuda-stambha was meant for a Visnu shrine. It is interesting to note that this stone tribula is referred to in the record as Danda. Similar trisulas, but made of metal and with inscriptions engraved on them, are known from several ancient Siva shrines of North India, e.g., one28 from the Gopesvara temple at Gopesvar, Chamoli Taluk, Chamoli District, Uttar Pradesh, and another 29 from the Visyanatha

²⁸ A R.Ep., 1967-68, No B 285.

²⁹ Ibid., 1968-69, No. 323.

THE MERU

CHUNILAL CHAKRAVARTY

The Meru occupies an important place in the mountain system of Jambu-dvipa described by the ancient geographers. The name Mahāmeru appears in later Vedic literature; in the Buddhist works, the range is called Hemameru, Mahameru and Sineru which is supposed to have stood at the centre of the world being encircled by seven kulācalas or concentric circles of rocks.2 The Rāmāyana refers to the golden Sudarsana mountain which is another According to the epico-Puranic name of the Meru.8 accounts, around the Meru standing at the middle of Jambudvīpa, lies the elevated Ilāvṛta-varṣa.4 The height of the Meru is 84 thousand yojanas and its depth below the surface of the earth and its base are both 16 thousand yojanas so that this mountain is the seed-cup of the lotus of the earth. the north of Mt. Meru is the Nila-parvata associated with the Ramyaka-varşa (also called Ramanaka-varşa and Nīla-varşa); north of it is the Svetao or Sukla-parvata associated with the Hiranmaya° or Sveta-varsa; and to the north of the Hiranmaya-varsa is the Śrngin or Śrngavat-

¹ Vedic Index, Vol. I, p. 170.

² Malalasekera, DPPN, s.v. Sineru.

³ Kişkındhā-kāṇḍa, 43.16; cf. Sircar, Cosmography and Geography, p. 63.

⁴ Brahmānda, 35 22.

⁵ Wilson, Visnu Purāna, p. 135. According to the Buddhist writers, Mt. Sineru is submerged in the sea at the centre of the world to a depth of 84,000 yojanas and rises above also to the same height. Cf. Malalasekera, loc. cit.

⁶ Matsya, 113.61; Brahmāṇda, 3446; Mahābhārata, VI 82.

⁷ Agni, 1077. The Mahābhārata (VI. 8) associates the Sveta with the Ramanaka-varsa

parvata associated with Uttara-Kuru (or Airāvata according to the Mahābhārata), the northernmost varṣa. To the south of the Meru is the Niṣadha-parvata associated with the Hari-varṣa; to the south of the Hari-varṣa is the Hemakūṭa-parvata associated with the Kimpuruṣa-varṣa; to the south of the Kimpuruṣa-varṣa is the Himavat-parvata associated with Bhārata, also called Himāhvaya or Haimavata, the southernmost varṣa. To the east of the Meru or Ilāvṛta-varṣa lies the Gandhamādana and to the west the Mālyavat. These two mountains connect the varṣa-parvatas, Nīla and Niṣadha, separating Bhadrāśva and Ketumāla respectively from the Meru or Ilāvṛta-varṣa in the east and west. On the top of the Meru lives the god Brahman, while its other sections are occupied by the other gods. 11

The Meru has four viṣkambhas, or supporting ranges, on its four sides, viz. (i) Mandara in the east, associated with Bhadrāśva; (ii) Gandhamādana¹³ in the south, associated

⁸ Märkandeya, 54.9; Mahābhārata, VI. 6.4ff.; Agni, 108.26. According to the Four-Continent theory of the earth, to the north and south of Mt. Meru lie the continents of Uttara-Kuru and Bhārata respectively; to its east and west are placed Bhadrāśva and Ketumāla (Vāyu, 34.37ff.; cf. Mahābhārata, VI. 6.12-13; Sircar, op. cit., pp. 49ff., note 23). This theory resembles that of the Buddhists in which Uttara-Kuru is located to the north of the Sineru (Meru or Sumeru) and Jambu-dvīpa to the south of it. The western continent is Apara-Godāna and the eastern Pūrva-Videha (Malalasekera, op cit., Vol. I, p. 491). These theories, therefore, clearly indicate that Uttara-Kuru lies close to the Meru in the north. The Mahābhārata places Uttara-Kuru to the south of the Nīla and on the border of the Meru. In another section of the same work, Uttara-Kuru is placed near Mt Meru associated with the sandy deserts beyond the Himalaya (VI 7.2; cf. XVIII. 2.12).

⁹ Agni, 107.5; Brahmānda 35.30.

¹⁰ Cf Raychaudhuri, Stud. Ind. Ant, p 72.

¹¹ Vāyu, Ch. 34.

¹² It has also been placed to the east of the Meru-varşa and is associated with Bhadrāsva. In some of the Purāṇas, the names of the supporting ranges appear as Mandara, Meru-Mandara, Supārsva and Kumuda. Cf. Wilson, Viṣṇu Purāṇa, p. 136n.

with Jambu-dvīpa; (iii) Vipula in the west, associated with Ketumāla; and (iv) Supārśva in the north, associated with Uttara-Kuru. There are four vanas (forests) connected with the four viṣkambhas: (i) Caitraratha in the east; (ii) Nandana in the south; (iii) Vaibhrāja in the west; and (iv) Sāvitra in the north. They have respectively the following four lakes: (i) Aruṇoda (east); (ii) Mānasa (south); (iii) Sitoda or Śītoda (west); and (iv) Mahābhadra (north). There are also a large number of mountain ranges, called 'filament mountains' by Wilson, running in the four directions from the abovementioned lakes. 14

Besides, there are ranges called maryādā-parvatas or boundary ranges numbering eight. They are Jathara and Devakūta in the east extending from Mt. Nīla to Mt. Nisadha and separating Bhadrāśva from Ilāvṛta; the Nisadha and Pāripātra in the west, extending from Mt. Nīla to the Nisadha and separating Ketumāla from Ilāvṛta; the Kailāsa and Himavat in the south and the Śringavat and Jārudhi in the north, both groups extending from sea to sea. ¹⁵ Elsewhere the Mālyavat and Gandhamādana, respectively to the west and east of the Meru region, separating it from Ketumāla and Bhadrāśva, are mentioned as ranges extending from Mt. Nīla to Mt. Niṣadha. ¹⁶

From the above description it becomes clear that the Meru-parvata is the nucleus of the Purāṇic conception of the mountain system, and the position of all the other ranges depends on the exact location of this mountain. Although scholars have attempted to locate the Meru, their findings are not free from doubt. B.N. Seal compares Mt. Meru with

¹³ Vāyu, Ch 35.

¹⁴ See ibid., Ch. 36.

¹⁵ Märkandeya, Ch 54.

¹⁶ Bhāgavata, V, 16.10,

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the Pamirknot.¹⁷ This view is supported by Pandya who maintains that, since the Pamirknot is "the hub of all great mountain ranges of Asia", it must be the Meru.¹⁸ Basing his ideas on a similar line of thinking, Muzafar Ali has attempted to connect the various mountain ranges of Asia with the Purāṇic varṣa-parvatas: (i) Śṛṅgavat—Kara-tan-Kirghiz-Ketman chains; (ii) Śveta—Nuru-tan-Turkestan-Atbashi chains; (iii) Nīla—Zarafshan-trans-Alai-Tien-shan chains; (iv) Niṣadha—Hindukush-Kuen-lun chains; and (v) Himavat—the Great Himalayan range.¹⁰

All these attempts, though ingenious, hardly agree with the Puranic system, for the above ranges neither run parallel to one another nor extend, barring the Himalayan range, from sea to sea unless of course one is inclined to accept the deserts or large expanses of water as 'sea' as suggested by Ali.20 It is not clear how we can explain the position of the supporting ranges, 'filament mountains' and boundary ranges in relation to the varsa-parvatas except that the former chains may be of lesser dimensions, having formed the connecting links between the more formidable chains of the Himalayas and other important ranges of Central Asia. Neither the Pamir plateau surpasses others in height, much less reaches the neighbourhood of 84,000 yojanas which is given as the height of the Meru, nor does the description as given in the Puranas agree with its present position. In terms of real geography, however, the entire picture may at best convey 'some faint indications that the original account

¹⁷ Vaisnavism and Christianity, pp 48-49.

¹⁸ Vallabh Vidyanagar Research Bulletin, Vol. I, No. 1, 1957, p. 40.

¹⁹ The Geography of the Purāṇas, p. 53.

²⁰ Loc. cit, C. V Vaidya, starting from the premises that Jambu-dvīpa is the earth, takes the Meru to the North Pole and includes Russia, Norway, Sweden and North America within the Havrtavarşa (Vedic India, pp 269ff.).

may have been based on some real knowledge of the topography and physical features of Central and Northern Asia."²¹ As a matter of fact, some of the so-called varṣa-parvatas are really parts of the Himalayan range, while some may belong to Central Asia. Al-Bīrūnī maintains that the Meru is in the Himavat and further informs us that Mt. Niṣadha, a varṣa-parvata, is really a part of the Himalayan chain.²² The ancient cosmographers, apparently having no accurate knowledge of the vast plateau of Central Asia, had indulged in imaginary details and at times given fanciful accounts of the mountains and the varṣas and their inhabitants.²³

That the Meru is situated due north of the Himalayas is clear from the Four-Continent theory of the earth preferred by the early Puranic and Buddhist writers although according to the Seven-Continent theory of the earth, two varsa-parvatas, the Hemakūta and Nisadha, intervene between the Himavat and Meru. Since both these ranges, the Hemakūta and Nisadha, are taken to be parts of the Himalayan range, there seems to be no basic difference in all these accounts in placing the Meru somewhere in the north of the main chain of the Himalayas. The Meru is also associated with the land of the Uttara-Kurus (according to the Four-Continent theory of the earth) who were regarded as a real people in the later Vedic literature probably living in the region of Central Asia. Gradually "they came to be regarded as inhabiting the land of the gods probably about the Meru mountain near Central Asia

²¹ Raychaudhuri, op. cit., p. 73; cf. Wilson, op cit., p. 140, note 14.

²² Sachau, Alberum's India, Vol I, p. 246; Vol II, p. 142.

²³ The Meru has been described as of golden colour being inhabited by Brahman and other gods; the Kailāsa is the habitat of Siva and his consort; the Gandhamādana is the happy resort of the Yaksas, Kinnaras and others. Cf. Mārkandeya, 54.14; Brahmānda, 35 15f.

and also as a mythical or semi-mythical people."²¹ Some scholars suggest a relation between Mt. Meros of the Greek writers and Mt. Meru of Indian literature.²⁵ But since Mt. Meros lies near Nysa, which was probably situated between the Copen (Kabul) and the Indus,²⁶ it is far removed from the Meru, and the Meros should be looked for in the Afghanistan-West Pakistan region.

Both the Buddhist and Puranic writers have woven mysterious and fabulous stories around the Meru, out of which it is not an easy task to get the elements of real geography. There are, however, a few clues which may help us faintly to indicate its location. The Ganga, according to the Puranic legends, which are also shared by the Buddhists in essence, flows down from the Meru after encircling the capital of Brahman.27 This, according to N. L. Dey, points to the direction of the Rudra-Himālaya in Garhwal where the river Ganges has its source. It is near Badarik-āśrama. Dey also says that the local traditions associate the Kedarnath mountain with the Sumeru-But we have also seen that the Mahābhārata parvata.28 places it near the deserts of Central Asia (Takla Makan and Gobi). The topographical feature around the Kuenlun region agreeing somewhat with the Meru or Ilavrtavarsa possibly justifies in essence the opinion of Atkinson that "Meru in its widest sense embraces the elevated tableland of Western Tibet between the Kailasa in the east and the Muztagh range on the west and between the Himavat on the south and the Kuen-lun range on the

²⁴ Sircar, op. cit, p. 41.

²⁵ See B C. Law, Hist. Geog. Anc. Ind., p. 112

²⁶ Arrian, Anab., Bk. IV, Chs. 1 and ii.

²⁷ Cf. Wilson, op cit, p 139; Malalasekera, op cit., s.v. Anotattq.

²⁸ Geog Dict, p 130.

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north." Stripped of all fabulous descriptions, therefore, the Kuen-lun has probably a good claim to be represented as Mt. Meru of ancient Indian literature, and as for the Meru or Ilāvṛta-varṣa, it may also include the Takla Makan and Gobi deserts in the north in addition to the region noted above.

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²⁹ Notes on the History of the Himalaya of the N-W. P. of India, Ch. I, p. 24. There is no sufficient reason to associate the Ilävṛta-varṣa with the Ili river of China as suggested by Bagchi (India and Central Asia, p. 118) as other characteristic features of the region disagree.

EROTIC SCULPTURES IN ORISSAN TEMPLES

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Adris Banerji

A question that has to be decided is whether the erotic sculptures in the temples of Orissa were inspired by a particular religious order. The numerous Lakuliśa images 4 on the lalatabimba of the urdhvapattikas, and on the badas and other places of the Orissan temples, prove that, in early times, Orissa was a stronghold of the Pasupata cult. The Kāpālikas or Kaulas were one of the sects of the Lākulīśas whose history, according to epigraphs, goes back to the centuries immediately preceding the birth of Christ. They were associated with the cult of the Yoginis, in whose temples they performed their orginatic and lustful practices. The existence of two Causat Yogini temples Bhubaneswar is a significant fact. The Läkuliśa doctrines were possibly pure in the beginning; but, in course of time, they degenerated and adopted obscene and objectionable practices. They are referred to by Somadeva, Ksemendra and Yāmun-ācārya, and P. C. Bagchi showed that the Kaula practices received a tremendous impetus after Matsyendranātha.1 The most important in their rituals were virgins as a means of fulfilment of their objective, through esoteric rites. Ksemendra mercilessly attacked their debased and lecherous orgiastic worship and indulgence in wine, women and songs.2 It was the Kapalikas who practised human sacrifice, which we know took place at Bhubaneswar, Mayurbhanj and other places in Orissa. To Sri Pramod Chandra we are indebted for a mass of literary

¹ Kaulajñānanirnaya and Some Minor Texts of the School of Matsyendranātha, Calcutta Sanskrit Series, 1934, pp 27, 35, 38-39 and 127

² Daśopadeśanarmamālā, 1923, pp. 24-25,

evidence including the fact that they always carried a club.⁸ He has further tried to establish with the help of illustrations that the male of the erotic couples often carry a club in the sculptures of Khajuraho.⁴ A scrutiny of Orissan sculptures may yield good results.

The Kāpālika-Lākulīśa sect originated at a place called Karvan, sometime before the birth of Christ, and reached · Mathura by the 1st century A.D. It is noteworthy that the Tantrayana or Mantrayana Buddhism also adopted the same forms of ritual as pointed out by B. Bhattacharya in his 'Introduction' to the Sādhanamālā. The Lākulisas reached Mysore, and the whole of Karnatak came under their influence. By the 11th century, they were prominent in Andhra Pradesh. The occurrence of the image of Lakulisa at Mukhalingam might have been due to Cola-Ganga relations. In Orissa, theirs appears as one of the principal cults from the 7th century A.D. In Maharashtra, they had already entrenched themselves by the 7th century. About the same period, they also were established in Rajasthan, specially its hill tracts now known as the Kotah, Bundi, Bhilwara, Chitorgarh and Udaipur Districts. Hāritarāśi, the preceptor of the celebrated Bappa Rāval, was a Pāśupata ācārya, and the famous temple of Ekalingaji was a stronghold of the Pāśupatas.

Bagchi has shown that long after the appearance of Lakulisa, almost a millennium later, the cult practices and esoteric rituals were reformed by Matsyendranātha and Kṛṣṇapāda. But all their efforts were futile. Not even Sankar-ācārya's measured reviling could retract people from the absurd practices; the magic that all esoteric worship has over mass mind was too strong. The origins

^{3 :} Kaula-Kāpālika Cults at Khajuraho' in the Lalit Kalā, Nos. 1-2, 1956, pp. 103ff.

⁴ Loc. cit.

of this esoterism are probably deep-rooted in the pre-Aryan practices of India, whose germs are traceable in the Upaniṣads. When Vedic religion and culture lost vitality and the gentle creed of Buddhism and the extreme asceticism preached by Mahāvīra declined, leadership was lacking for cultivating a better moral and ethical life, and these elements, influenced the population's psychology. This is probably one of the reasons underlying the presence of erotic sculptures in the temples of Orissa. They appear to echo the orgiastic practices of the Kāpālikas.*

^{*[}For similar views, see also Herman Goetz, 'The Historical Background of the Great Temples of Khajuraho' in the Arts Asiatique, Tome V, 1958, fasc. I, pp. 35ff The theory that the Pāsupatas of the Mattamayūra class were responsible for the erotic representations is not supported by J. N. Banerjea, Paurānic and Tāntric Religion, p. 109 If the Pāsupata extremists were responsible for the erotic sculptures, it is rather difficult to explain their occurrence, e.g., in Vaiṣṇava shrines like the temple of Jagannātha at Purī.—Ed]

INDOLOGICAL NOTES1

D. C. SIRGAR

4. Date of the Mankuwar Buddha Image Inscription of the time of Kumāragupta I

The village of Mankuwar lies near the right bank of the Yamuna, about nine miles to the south-west of Arail or Arayal, the chief town of the Pargana of that name in the Karchhana Tahsil (Sub-Division) of the Allahabad District of U.P. The inscription, discovered by Bhagwanlal Indraji in 1870 and brought to the notice of Alexander Cunnigham probably in 1880, is engraved on the front side of the pedestal of a seated Buddha image. The said image is stated to have been originally found in a brick mound in the area of Panch-Pahad (literally, 'Five Hillocks') to the north-east of Mankuwar and to have gone to the possession of the Gosaī of Deoriya or Dewariya. Cunningham published the text of the inscription, together with a lithograph, in his Archaeological Survey of India, Vol. X, p. 7, while Indraji published his own reading of the text together with its translation in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XVI, 1885, p. 354. J.F. Fleet later edited the epigraph in the Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. III (Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings and their Successors), 1868, pp. 45-47 (No. 11, Plate VI-A). The date of the inscription was read

¹ Nos. 1-3 appeared above, Vol. I, pp 83-98 In No 2 (p 90, note 20, line 6), add—Note, however, that, according to the late *Mudrārākṣasa* (Act VI, verse 6), probably composed about the close of the sixth century A.D. at the court of the Maukhari king Avantivarman, the Nanda king was regarded by his followers as born in a high family, while Candragupta is described as sprung from a low origin.

as the Gupta year 129 (448 A.D.) falling in the reign of Kumāragupta I (414-55 A.D.) of the Imperial Gupta house of Magadha.

It is well known that the number 129 was to be written in Brāhmī with the three signs for 100 and 20 and 9 and that the symbol for 20 is expected to have resembled the aksara tha which was written in the age of Kumāragupta, not as a circle with a central dot as in the earlier period, but as elongated vertically with a horizontal stroke or bar in the middle instead of the dot. The attention of scholars may be drawn in this connection to the symbol for 20 in such copper and stone records of Kumaragupta's reign as the Kalaikuri-Sultanpur plate² (line 34) of the Gupta year 120 (439 A.D.), the Baigram⁸ (line 25) and Jagadishpur⁴ (line 28) plates of the Gupta year 128 (448 A.D.) and the Mathurā image inscription⁵ (line 1) of the Gupta year 125 (444-45 A.D.) as well as the aksara tha (simple and not in a conjunct) occurring in these epigraphs; e. g. vaitheya in line 1 of both the Kalaikuri-Sultanpur and Jagadishpur plates and vithi in lines 3 and 4 of the former and line 4 of the latter; $d\bar{a}syath = \bar{a}^o$ in line 19 of the Baigram plate; etc.

The second of the three signs in the date of the Mankuwar inscription, read as 20, however, does not look like the 20 or tha sign in the records of Kumāragupta's time as noticed above. It is a small globular mark in which what looks like a tiny dot appears to be a flaw in the stone and not due to the engraver of the epigraph. Another

² See Ep. Ind., Vol. XXXI, pp 57 ff., and Plates; Sircar, Sel. Ins, 1965, pp. 357 ff., and Plates XLVIII-XLIX.

³ Cf. Ep. Ind., Vol. XXI, pp. 81 f, and Plates; Sircar, op. cit, pp. 355 ff., and Plates L-LI.

⁴ $B\ddot{a}n\dot{g}l\ddot{a}$ Academy Patrika, Dacca, Magh-Caitra, 1370 BS, pp. 36 ff., and Plates.

⁵ Ep. Ind., Vol XXXVII, pp. 153ff.

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feature of the symbol that strikes us is its size which is about $\frac{1}{3}$ of the height of the preceding 100 and the following 9. In case it was intended to be a numerical symbol like the other two signs, all the three signs would have had the same size. Under these circumstances, we have little doubt that the correct reading of the three signs in the date of the Mankuwar inscription of the time of Kumāragupta I is 100 and 0 and 9, i.e. the Gupta year 109 (428 A.D.). The cypher between the hundred and unit signs indicates the absence of the ten sign. This kind of influence of the decimal system, which became popular at a later date, was not known to earlier writers on Indian epigraphy and palaeography; but we had occasion to notice a few such cases.

The Bhauma-Kara king Subhākara II of Orissa issued his Terundia plate⁶ in the year 100 of the Bhauma-Kara era commencing in the year 831 A.D. What is of considerable interest is, however, that the number has not been written in the usual fashion by a single symbol. On the other hand, here the lu sign indicating 100 is followed unusually by a cypher apparently indicating the absence of the ten and unit elements in the date. Likewise, in both the Hindol and Dharakota plates⁷ issued by king Subhākara III of the same dynasty, the year of issue is quoted as 103; but it is interesting to note that, while the number 103 is written in the Dharakota plate as 100 and 3 in the usual way, the same number has been written in the Hindol plate as 100 and 0 and 3, the cypher between 100 and 3 no doubt indicating the absence of the ten element in it.

Another instance of a similar type is offered by the Chandeswar plates⁸ of king Mānabhīta Dharmarāja (c. 695-

⁶ Ibid, Vol. XXVIII, pp 211 ff., and Plates.

⁷ B. Misra, Orissa under the Bhauma Kings, pp 12-22, JBORS, Vol XVI, pp. 69-83; JAHRS, Vol IV, pp. 189-94. See also Ep. Ind, Vol. XXVIII, p 211 and notes.

⁸ Ep. Ind, Vol. XXX, pp. 269 ff., and Plates.

730 A.D.) of the Sailodbhava dynasty of Kongoda (about the Ganjam District of Orissa). The charter was issued in the 18th regnal year of the king and it is interesting that the date of the record, i.e. year 18, has been written not in the usual way as 10 and 8, but as 10 and 0 and 8. On this date, we had occasion to offer the following remark elsewhere: "This shows that the practices of writing numbers in symbols and figures were both prevalent in Orissa side by side in the age of the record. The twofold mistake in the present case is that ten was written by the symbol for 10 and a zero, instead of one and a zero, and that the zero was retained in spite of 8 occupying the place of the unit."

Before the introduction of the decimal system of writing numerals, the system of expressing numbers by symbols was popular in all parts of the country. Even after the introduction of the decimal system, the old system retained its popularity in several areas for a long time and in some regions its influence is felt even today. The old system is noticed in Jain manuscripts of Western India and Buddhist manuscripts of Nepal till the sixteenth century while it is still used in Tamil and Malayalam in a modified form. The cases cited above exhibit the influence of the new system over the old, the two systems being mixed up. This mixing up was formerly known from the Tekkali (Srikakulam District, Andhra Pradesh) plates 10 of the Ganga year 154 (c. 651 A.D.) in which the date is written not as 200 and 50 and 4, but as 200 and 5 and 4. The earliest use of the decimal system is indicated by the Sankheda plates¹¹ of the Kalacuri year 346 (595 A.D.), so that it must have been introduced sometime before the

⁹ Ibid, p. 269.

¹⁰ Ibid., Vol. XVIII, pp. 309 f., and Plates.

last quarter of the sixth century. The evidence of the Mankuwar inscription discussed above would now push back the date of the introduction of the decimal system by more than a century and a half, i.e., before the second quarter of the fifth century A.D. Even on the basis of the inscription of 554 A.D., it has been said, "No other country in the world offers such an early instance of its use. Epigraphic evidece alone is, therefore, sufficient to assign a Hindu origin to the modern system of notation" 12

5. Nihilapati = Nihelapati

A copper-plate grant issued by Mahāsāmanta Mahārāja Samudrasena, who was the son and successor of Ravisena, grandson of Sanjayasena and great-grandson of Varunasena and probably flourished in the seventh century A.D., was discovered in the forties of the nineteenth century at the village of Nirmand near the right bank of the Satlaj river, 21 miles north-east of Plach, chief town of the Tahsil of that name in the Kullu Sub-Division of the Kangra District of the Punjab. It was edited by Rajendralal Mitra in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XLVIII, Proceedings, pp. 212 ff., and again by J. F. Fleet in the Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. III, pp. 286 ff. (No. 80, Plate XLIV). The inscription records the ratification of the grant of the village of Sulisagrama made by the ruler's mother Mihiralaksmi in favour of the Brahmana students of the Atharvaveda at the agrahara of Nirmanda for the god Siva Mihiresvara established by the said lady at the temple of Kapāleśvara apparently in the same agrahāra, which is stated to have previously received a land

¹² Datta and Singh, History of Hindu Mathematics, Part I, p 49. We do not attach any importance to Kaye's fantastic views (cf. ibid, pp. 44ff.) For the views of the Arabs, cf JBRS, Askari Vol, 1968, pp. 15 ff.

grant from Mahārāja Śarvavarman, probably the Maukhari king of that name (c. 565-80 A.D.). The dūtaka or executor of Samudrasena's grant was Nihilapati Kuśalaprakāśa. As regards Nihilapati which is obviously the official designation of Kuśalaprakāśa, Fleet says, "I have not been able to obtain any explanation of the first component of this official title." 15

The same designation occurs in the Sungal plate¹⁴ of king Vidagdha of Chamba, who flourished in the first half of the eleventh century A.D., in the form Nihelapati in the usual list of officers addressed by the king in connection with a grant of land. Here Nihelapati is mentioned in the company of other officers—Kumārāmātya-Uparika-Viṣayapati-Nihelapati-Kṣetrapa-Prāntapāla. Because Nihelapati is mentioned immediately after Viṣayapati (the governor of a district), we wrote as follows in our Indian Epigrahical Glossary, 1966, s.v.—"official designation of uncertain import; probably, the governor of a territorial unit; also spelt Nihilapati."

It is true that the word ihela or nihila cannot be traced in the Sanskrit lexicons; but nihela is well known in Prakrit as a form of Sanskrit nīla. Under the rule dādh-ādayo bahulam (IV. 33) in the Prākrtaprakāsa of Vararuci (c. 4th-5th century A.D.), both the early commentaries, viz. the Prākrtamañjarī by Kātyāyana (c. 6th-7th century A.D.) and the Manoramā by Bhāmaha (c. 7th-8th century A.D.) quote nīla = nihelam among the illustrations. According to a vārttika on Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī, 16 the word nīla is used in the sense of 'dyed with indigo' while nīlī means the indigo plant. There is, however, evidence in epigraphic

¹³ Cf. Fleet, op. cit., p. 291, note 2.

¹⁴ See Vogel, Antiquities of Chamba State, Part I, p. 166.

¹⁵ See Sircar, A Grammar of the Prakrit Language, p. 38; cf. p. 3

¹⁶ IV. 2.2—lākṣārocanāṭ=ṭhak—nītyā an vaktavyaḥ.

literature to show that nila was also used in the sense of 'indigo'. Thus the Sanskrit charter17 of king Visnusena (592 A.D.), from the Gujarat region of Western India, uses the expression nila-dumphaka in the passage dhenku-kaddhakanīla-dumphakāś = ca vistim na kārayitavyāh (line 8) the expression nīla-kuļī in another passage reading nīlakuţy-ādānam dumphakena deyam rūpaka-trayam rū 3 (lines 19-20). The expression nila-kuţi has been explained as an indigofactory and dumphaka has been taken to stand for Sanskrit dṛmphaka meaning 'one who presses', so that nīla-dumphaka would mean a manufacturer of blue dye from the indigo plant. In dhenku-kaddhaka, dhenku has been compared to Gujarātī dhikvo, Hindī dhenklī or dhenkul used in the sense of a contrivance (based on the principle of lever) for drawing water from a well, while kaddhaka has been regarded as the Prakrit form of Sanskrit karsaka so that dhenku-kaddhaka would be the drawer of water for the irrigation of fields. In the first of the two sentences quoted from Visnusena's charter, the water-drawers and indigo-pressers are exempted from free labour (visti) while the second sentence says that the indigo-presser maintaining an indigo-factory was liable to pay a tax of three rūpakas silver coins each about 20 ratis in weight).18

The quotations from Visnusena's charter of the close of the sixth century would show that often Prakrit words were adopted in Sanskrit inscriptions.¹⁹ It is therefore not improbable that the Nirmand plates of the seventh century

¹⁷ Ep. Ind., Vol. XXX, pp. 163 ff.

¹⁸ See ibid., p. 172 (No. 19) and p. 176 (No. 48).

¹⁹ Other interesting words used in the inscription are unmara (Sanskrit umbara, threshold), khovā (possibly, 'the share of the lord of the market'), vārika (officer; cf. Peṭavika-vārika, Uttarakulika-vārika, Kalvapāla-vārika), reṣa (?), utkṛṣṭī (Sanskrit utkrośa, wailing), dhārmika (ccss payable in addition to tax to meet expenses of conduct-

uses the pseudo-Sanskrit expression nihilapati in the sense of nilipati or nilapati, i.e. an officer in charge of indigo or the indigo factories.

It has been suggested that India used a far larger number of plants for extracting the blue dye than any other country of the world, so that the Aryans may have made acquaintance with indigo in India itself.²⁰ Indian indigo was valued in Western Asia, Egypt and the Mediterranean countries as a dye and a medicine.²¹ The Periplus of the Erythrasan Sea (c. 82 A.D.) refers to its export from the Lower Valley of the Indus.²² Pliny (23-79 A.D.) says, "We have indicum, a substance imported from India......."²⁸

The records of Visnusena, Samudrasena and Vidagdha would suggest that indigo was probably cultivated in

ing some religious ceremony), châtra (a constable), sainvadana (probably, informing), jayika (the winning party), bhāṣā (written declaration), phālāvana (protection of ploughed field), ullambana (probably, hanging), vinaya (fine), taundika (biting of crops with mouth), avalokya (probably, detection), dosya (possibly, clothes), kānisya (bronze utensils), bharolaka (possibly, distillery), grahanaka (possibly, custody), dandaka (possibly, rule regarding the supply of the royal share of wine), soți (pot for measuring liquids like wine), căturtha (quarter of the standard measure), iksu-vāţa (sugarcane plantation), alla-vāta (probably, ginger plantation, or low land), yantra-kutī (oil mill or manufactory), sulk-ātiyātrika (boundary-crossing tax), bhāndablirta-valitra (wagon or boat full of vessels), mahis-ostra-bharaka (a pack of buffaloes and camels), pottalikā-samkācitaka (bundles suspended from loops), ardrakalakatā (dried ginger-sticks, or undried firewood), kanikkā (Sanskrit kanikā, cummin seed), varnikā (Prakrit vanniā, a sample), setikā (Prakrit seiā, seigā, a measure equal to two prasrtis or four palas), pattaka-dhārmika (a case of transit legalised by passport), madya-vahanaka (a boat or vehicle full of wine), chimpaka (Prakrit chimpaya, a dyer of clothes), padakāra (shoe- maker, or hawker), kolika (Sanskrit kaulika, weaver), etc.

²⁰ G. Watt, The Commercial Products of India, 1908, p. 663.

²¹ W. H. Schoff, The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea, p. 172.

²² Ibid., p. 38.

²³ Ibid., pp. 172-73; Pliny, XXXV. 25-27.

Gujarat, the Punjab and Chamba (Himachal Pradesh) in The first and second of the three regions, it is interesting to note, are known to have continued indigo cultivation till recent times. As regards Gujarat, we are told, "in the 16th and 17th centuries, indigo, partly of local growth and partly brought from Upper India was one of the chief exports of Gujarat. Towards the close of the 18th century (1777), the cultivation, chiefly for local use, would seem to have been on a very considerable scale."24 The Russian traveller Athanasius Nikitin (1468) speaks of Kanbat (Cambay in Gujarat) as growing indigo.²⁵ The production of indigo in Gujarat or in particular localities in the region, e.g., Cambay, Ahmedabad, Surat and Broach, is further mentioned by Linschoten (1598), François Pyrard (1601-10), Terry (1622), Mandelslo (1638) and Tavernier (1670).26

As regards the Punjab region, it is said that "the estimated area under indigo plantation in 1904-05 was 53,000 acres and the yield 9,900 cwt. and the most important districts for the production were then Multan, Muzaffarabad, Dehra Ghazi Khan and Rohtak." Birdwood and Foster (1605-06) speak of Lahar (Lahore) as a place producing indigo. 26

6. Garga-Yavana and Kala-Yavana

There is a stanza in the Madanpādā (verse 17)²⁹ and Vangīya Sāhitya Pariṣat (verse 22)²⁰ plates of Viśvarūpasena

²⁴ Watt, op. cit, pp. 676-77.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 664. Garcia de Orta (1563) also speaks of the cultivation and manufacture of blue dye in Western India and of the găli and nil of Gujarat (loc. clt.).

²⁶ See ibid., pp. 664-66.

²⁷ Ibid., p 676.

²⁸ Cf. ibid., p. 664.

²⁹ N. G. Majumdar, Ins. Beng, Vol. III, p. 135; see also D C Sircar in Ep. Ind., Vol. XXXIII, p. 323.

³⁰ N. G. Majumdar, op. cit, p. 145.

(1206-20 A.D.), son of Laksmanasena (1179-1206 A.D.), though its second half is cut off from the latter epigraph. The same stanza also occurs in the Edilpur plate (verse 21)⁸¹ of Viśvarūpasena, though it is often wrongly ascribed to an imaginary brother of his, named Keśavasena. The last foot of the stanza reads—sa Garga-Yavan-ānvaya-pralaya-Kāla-Rudro nīpaḥ which says that the said king (Viśvarūpasena) was, to the race of the Garga-Yavanas, the very Kāla-Rudra (i.e. Rudra the Death or destroyer) on the day of pralaya (destruction of a yuga). Scholars are unanimous in holding that the enemies of Viśvarūpasena, called Garga-Yavana in the inscriptions, were no other than the Turkish Musalmans who conquered the western part of the Sena empire from Laksmanasena and made their head-quarters at Laksmanāvatī near Gaur in the Malda District of West Bengal.

That the Musalmans are called Yavana⁸⁴ and rarely Śaka⁸⁵ or Yavana-Śaka⁸⁶ in mediaeval records is well known; but why they are called Garga-Yavana in this case has not been satisfactorily explained. K.P. Jayaswal regarded Garga as the same as Garjha, i.e. Gharzistān, and supposed that the Garga-Yavana enemies of Viśvarūpasena were some Muslim raiders led by Muḥammad Ghūrī,⁸⁷ though the suggestion has been regarded as merely a guess.⁸⁸

The expression Garga-Yavana reminds us of the similar

³¹ Ibid., pp. 123-24.

³² See D. C. Sircar in Ep. Ind., Vol. XXXIII, pp 314ff.

³³ Cf. R. D. Banerji, Bāngālār Itihās, 2nd ed, p 355; History of Bengal, Vol. I, ed R. C. Majumdar, p. 226; D C. Sircar in Ep. Ind., Vol. XXXIII, p. 317.

³⁴ See Bhandarkar's List of Inscriptions, Nos 751, 764, 1027, 1115, 1149, 1152.

³⁵ Ibid, No. 926.

³⁶ Ibid., No. 859.

³⁷ JBORS, Vol. IV, 1918, p. 171.

³⁸ R. C. Majumdar, op. cit, p. 226, note 3.

expression Kāla-Yavana which seems to be used in Sanskrit literature sometimes as the name of a people and often as the name of a person. The Dasakumāracarita* mentions a dvīpa (a Dwab or island) called Kāla-Yavana probably because it was regarded as the land of the Kāla-Yavanas. Since the name implies 'the Black-complexioned Yavana', it is possible to think that some African territory inhabited by the Negroes is meant.

An enemy of the Yadava hero Vasudeva Kṛṣṇa is mentioned by the name Kala-Yavana in the Harivainsa and the Visnu Purana in certain stories which are sometimes In II. 52, the Harivamsa mentions mutually irreconcilable. how the sage Gargya propitiated the god Siva by his penances and obtained a son named Kāla-Yavana who could not be killed by the Yadavas of Mathura. Elsewhere (I.35) the same work says that Gargya, who was the priest of the Yādavas, was tauntingly called impotent by the priest of his wife's brother, the king of Trigarta, and obtained a son after twelve years through an apsaras named Gopāli. child being left by its mother was brought up in the harem of the childless Yavana king and became famous under the name Kāla-Yavana. When this Kāla-Yavana invaded Mathurā at the advice of Nārada, Kṛṣṇa left Mathurā and settled at Kuśasthali-Dvāravatī at the advice of the Vṛṣṇis and Andhakas. In the Harivamsa, II. 53 ff., we are told that Sālva, being instigated by Jarāsandha and other kings, went to the capital of the Yavana king and advised Kala-Yavana to crush Kṛṣṇa at Mathurā. Kṛṣṇa, however, had left Mathurā for Dvāravatī before Kāla-Yavana reached the place; but the latter followed him to Dvaravati. For fear of Kāla-Yavana, Kṛṣṇa hid himself in the cavern where Māndhātr's son Mucukunda was sleeping, because, according

³⁹ Ed Jibananda Vidyasagar, 1894, p. 22.

to a boon received by Mucukunda from the gods, whoever would arouse him from sleep would be automatically burnt to death at his glance. Kāla-Yavana reached the said cave in pursuit of Kṛṣṇa and was killed because he had roused Mucukunda from his sleep. Kṛṣṇa then obtained Kala-Yavana's wealth, part of which he offered to Ugrasena and beautified the city of Dvaravati with the remainder of it. In II. 57, the Harivamsa says that Kala-Yavana, the king of the Yavanas, was assisted by such Mlecchas as the Śakas, Tuṣāras, Daradas, Pāradas, Tanganas, Khasas, and Haimavatas. The Visnu Purana (V. 23), however, says that the wife of the Yavana king obtained a son named Kāla-Yavana through the sage Gargya. It is possible that, in these cases, Kāla-Yavana was so named because he was conceived as the king of the Yavanas or Kala-Yavanas.

The story of Kāla-Yavana is also mentioned sometimes as that of the Yavana or the Yavana king in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, X. 50-52; Brahma Purāṇa, 196; Padma Purāṇa, Uttara-khanda. 246; Gargasamhitā, Dvāra. 2; Bīhannāradīya Purāṇa, Uttara. 17; Devī-Bhāgavata, IV. 24.

What is of considerable interest is that the sage, who was the priest of the Yādavas, is called by the name Gārgya (literally, 'a descendant of Garga' or belonging to Garga's gotra) in works like the Harivamśa and Viṣṇu Purāṇa; but the same priest of the Yādavas is mentioned as Garga in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa (X. 8. 1). Like Ikṣvāku, Raghu, Kuru, etc., meaning respectively the kings of those names as well as their descendants, the name Garga would also mean 'a descendant of Garga', so that the race of Kāla-Yavana, 'the Black-complexioned Yavana', may have also been mentioned as Garga-Yavana, i.e. 'the Yavana who was a descendant of Garga', both probably meaning the Negroes of Africa originally, but later the Muslims coming from any land of the west.

7. Vidisa Jain Image Inscriptions of the time of Ramagupta

The story of Viśākhadatta's Devicandragupta (composed about the close of the sixth century A.D.), which is known only from certain quotations in works on dramaturgy, is echoed partly in several later epigraphic and literary records and speaks of Rāmagupta as the immediate predecessor of Candragupta II Vikramāditya (376-413 A.D.) on the Imperial Gupta throne of Magadha. Cholars were, however, divided on the Devicandragupta tradition, one group regarding Rāmagupta as an Imperial Gupta monarch ruling for some time between the reigns of Samudragupta and Candragupta II, while another group being dubious about Rāmagupta's rule from the Gupta throne without further evidence.

When some copper coins, bearing the name of Rāma-gupta (without any royal title) and the figure of a lion and resembling the monetary issues of the Mālavas of Rajasthan and the Nāgas of Malwa, were discovered in the region of East Malwa, the first group of scholars hailed the evidence as establishing Rāmagupta's rule from the Imperial Gupta throne, though the second group regarded the issuer of the said copper coins to be a local ruler of the East Malwa region having no dynastic relation with the Gupta emperors. 42 When some of Rāmagupta's coins were found to bear the symbol of Garuda (seated, facing,

⁴⁰ See Sircar, Ancient Malwa and the Vikramāditya Tradition, pp.

⁴¹ Cf., e.g., A. S. Altekar in *JBORS*, Vol. XIV, pp. 223 ff.; Vol. XV, pp. 134 ff.; H. C. Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, 1938, p. 465, note 1; and R. C. Majumdar in *A New History of the Indian People*, Vol. VI, pp. 161 ff. (p. 161, note 1, for references to other early writings on the subject).

⁴² See Sircar, Studies in Indian Coins, pp. 222-23 (with references); Altekar, The Coinage of the Gupta Empire, pp. 162 ff.

with outspread wings) instead of the lion emblem on the reverse, it was supposed by the first group that, since Garuda was the dynastic emblem of the Guptas, Rāmagupta's rule from the Gupta throne was now proved beyond doubt; but the second group drew attention to similar copper coins of Indragupta and Mahārāja Harigupta with Garuda on the reverse and to the Ichchhawar (Banda District, U. P.) inscription of about the fifth century A.D., which refers to a ruler named Harirāja called Gupta-vamsodita (born in the Gupta dynasty), and observed that the Garuda coins of Rāmagupta, Indragupta and Mahārāja Harigupta, who were apparently local rulers of the East Malwa region and issued copper coins imitated from Imperial Gupta types on the decline of Gupta power, do not prove that any of them belonged to the Imperial Gupta dynasty.

Recently three Jain images—two of the eighth Tīrthankara Candrapabha and one of the ninth Tīrthankara Puṣpadanta (Suvidhinātha)—were discovered at Vidišā and have been found to bear inscriptions which say that all of them were caused to be made by Mahārājādhirāja Rāmagupta (who was apparently a Jain) under instruction from the Jain mendicant Cella-kṣamaṇa (i.e. Cella-kṣapaṇa, 'Cella the mendicant') whose name has been wrongly read as Celū. The charact-

⁴³ JNSI, Vol. XXIII, pp 340 ff.

⁴⁴ Cf. Sircar, Stud. Ind. Coins, pp. 227 ff.; cf. p 225. It was suggested that these rulers of the East Malwa region were related to the Later Guptas originally of Mālava and later of Magadha (ibid., p 229, note). The mention of the issuers of the coins with or without royal title is of course not a satisfactory evidence since the Gupta emperor Candragupta II, e.g., has the title Mahārājādhirāja on some coins and Mahārāja on some, but no title on others. See, e.g., Altekar, The Coinage of the Gupta Empire, pp. 90-159. The title Mahārāja is usually found on the copper coins of Candragupta II.

⁴⁵ Journ. Or. Inst., Vol. XVIII, No. 3, March, 1969, pp. 247 ff Ksamana is the same as Prakrit Khamana and Sanskrit Ksapana or Kṣapaṇaka The name Cella literally means 'a disciple',

ers of the inscriptions have been compared to those of the Sanchi inscription of Candragupta II and it has been claimed that the title *Mahārājādhirāja*, which was characteristic of the Gupta emperors, points to Rāmagupta's imperial status so that he must be the elder brother of Candragupta II who ousted him about 376 A.D.

In this connection, the second group of scholars would, however, like to point out the following facts. In the first place, unlike the Gupta emperors who were Bhagavatas or Vaisnavas, this Rāmagupta was a Jain, so that it is difficult to make a place for him among the early Gupta monarchs. Secondly, the coins and inscriptions bearing the name of Rāmagupta have been found only in East Malwa with which he should therefore be associated. Thirdly, it is probably not absolutely certain that Ramagupta of the coins is identical with Mahārājādhirāja Rāmagupta of the Vidiśā inscriptions. Fourthly, comparing the characters of the Vidisā inscriptions with those of records in the West Indian variety of the South Indian script such as the Sanchi inscription (412 A.D.)46 of Candragupta II, the Mandasor inscription (473 A.D.)47 mentioning Kumaragupta I and Bandhuvarman, the Mandasor and Chhoti-Sadri (491 A.D.)48 inscriptions of Gauri, Visnuşena's charter (592 A.D.),49 etc., we feel that Mahārājādhirāja Rāmagupta flourished in the Vidiśā region after the Guptas and Hūnas were struggling in the Malwa teritory about the close of the fifth century A.D. and may have been an early member of the so-called Later Gupta dynasty of Malava or East Malwa. He may have been an as yet unknown younger brother of the later Gupta

⁴⁶ Corp. Ins. Ind, Vol. III, pp. 29 ff.

⁴⁷ Ibid., pp. 79 ff.

⁴⁸ Ep. Ind, Vol. XXX, pp 120 ff.

⁴⁹ Ibid, pp. 163 ff.

king Jīvitagupta I who seems to have been the first independent ruler of the family. The absence of his mention in the Aphsad inscription⁵⁰ of Ādityasena is easily explained because the court poets often traced the genealogy from father to son and ignored a brother who may have ruled between his brother and the latter's son.⁵¹ It should also be remembered that Devagupta, known from Harşa's grants⁵² and usually identified with the Mālava king of the Harşacarita who is generally supposed to have ruled the Later Gupta kingdom after king Mahāsenagupta,⁵³ is also not mentioned in the Aphsad inscription.

We are inclined to say a word here on a problem associated with this topic, about which scholars appear to have This is Viśākhadatta's representation of his confused ideas. hero Candragupta as marrying his elder brother's (Rāmagupta's) widow. We do not believe that the said custom was popular either in the fourth century A. D. when Candragupta ascended the throne or in the days of Viśākhadatta whom we are inclined to assign to the close of the sixth century A.D. But Viśākhadatta apparently placed the plot of his Devicandragupta in very ancient times when the said type of marriage was admissible in his opinion. Such evidence as Sītā's suspicion that Laksmana was not going to Rāma's help (in the svarņa-mīga episode) because he would welcome his brother's death so that the latter's widow would be available to him (Rāmāyana, III. 45) may have influenced

⁵⁰ Bhandarkar's List of Inscriptions, No. 1552

⁵¹ Note the absence of Skandagupta in the legend of the seals of Narasimhagupta, Budhagupta, Kumāragupta II and Viṣnugupta Narasimhagupta and Budhagupta were brothers; but Narasimha's descendants, Kumāragupta II and Viṣnugupta, do not mention Budhagupta among their ancestors.

⁵² See Bhandarkar's List, No 1385 and note 4, and also No 1386,

⁵³ Ep. Ind., Vol. XXX, pp. 294 ff

our dramatist. This case seems to be exactly similar to Bhavabhūti introducing the ancient beef-eating Brāhmaṇas in his *Uttararāmacarita* (Act IV). Even though beef-eating had become obsolete among the Brāhmaṇas long before Bhavabhūti flourished in the eighth century A.D., it was mentioned in order to create an atmosphere of antiquity to which the plot of the drama belonged.

The following letters and signs as found in the Vidisa inscriptions are very considerably later than those in the Sanchi inscription of Candragupta II :- va in bhagavato, etc., ca, pa (cf. the last letter of line 2) and subcript ra in Candraprabha, etc., in line 1; ha and ja in hārājā, and ma in Rāma in line 2; ma in sramana in line 3; subscript sa, and ma in ksamana in line 4; etc. Some of the letters (e.g. ma) appear to be later than Gauri's records of the fifth century. The letter va resembles its form in Vișnusena's grant. Thus the characters of the Vidisa incriptions of Mahārājādhirāja Rāmagupta do not appear to be earlier than the sixth century A.D.; that is to say, they are more than a century later than the date of Rāmagupta suggested by the Devicandragupta. They may be assigned to an age when kings belonging to dynasties that assumed independence after the fall of the Guptas adopted imperial style, e.g., Aulikara Yasodharman Visnuvardhana (532 A.D.) of Mandasor called Rājādhirāja-Paramesvara55 and Maukhari

⁵⁴ Viśākhadatta may have also been influenced by Sugrīva's marriage with his brother Vālin's widow Tārā and Vibhīṣana's marriage with his brother Rāvaṇa's widow Mandodarī and by the custom of niyoga according to which procreation of children on the elder brother's wife was allowed. The law of the Buddhists is stated to have permitted a man to marry his brother's widow (Journ. Am. Or. Soc., Vol. XIII, 1888, p. 368, note). It seems that marriage with one's elder brother's widow was prevalent in Nonaryan society, but was later more or less tolerated by the people after the admixture of Aryan and Nonaryan blood had taken place on Indian soil.

⁵⁵ Sircar, Select Inscriptions, 2nd ed., p. 413 (verse 7).

Īśānavarman (553 A.D.) of Kanauj and others called Mahārājādhirāja. About the first quarter of the sixth century A.D., Gupta rule was ousted from Malwa which appears to have been then under the possession of the Hūṇa kings Toramāṇa and Mihirakula. Yaśodharman Viṣṇuvardhana defeated Mihirakula and established his own rule in West Malwa, and the Later Guptas are found about his time to have been flourishing in Mālava (East Malwa). Kumāragupta (third quarter of the sixth century A.D.) of the Later Gupta dynasty was a later contemporary of Maukhari Īśānavarman, and he was the son of Jīvitagupta I (probably the first independent ruler of the family), grandson of Harṣagupta and great-grandson of Kṛṣṇagupta. Rāmagupta of the Vidiśā inscriptions appears to be related to the said rulers of East Malwa with names ending in gupta.

Rāmagupta's claim to be a scion of the Imperial Gupta family can be cenceded only when we discover his gold coins of the Gupta fabric and his inscription or seal representing him as the descendant of known members of the Gupta dynasty.

The three inscriptions have practically the same text, though two of them speak of the image of Candraprabha and one of an image of Puspadanta and the preservation of the writing is satisfactory only in one out of the three records, parts of two of them being totally damaged. The first of the three epigraphs reads as follows:—

- l bhagavato = rhataḥ Candraprabhasya pratim = eyam kāritā ma-
- 2 hārājādhīrāja-śrī-Rāmaguptena upadeśāt = pānipā-
- 3 trika-Candrak[şam ā]cāryya-kṣama(pa)ṇa śramaṇapraśisya(sya*) ācā-

⁵⁶ Corp. Ins. Ind., Vol III, p 220.

⁵⁷ Cf. Sircar, Ancient Malwa and the Vikramāditya Tradition, pp. 14-15.

4 ryya - Sarppasena - kṣama(pa)ṇa - śiṣyasya Golakyāntyā(ḥ*) satpū(tpu)trasya Gella-kṣama(pa)ṇasy = eti //— In the place of Candraprabhasya one record has Puṣpadantasya The text may be translated as follows:—

"This image of Lord Gandraprabha, the Arhat, has been caused to be made by the illustrious Mahārājādhirāja Rāmagupta under instruction from the mendicant Cella, who is the good son of Golakyāntī, the disciple of the teacher Sarpasena, the mendicant, [and] the disciple's disciple of the teacher Candrakṣama, the mendicant and monk, who took a vow to use his palms as a bowl (i.e. to eat and drink only from his hands)."

It is difficult to say why the mendicant Cella has been specially called "the good son of Golakyanti."

GLIMPSES OF SOCIAL LIFE IN THE KATHĀSARITSĀGARA

A.K. CHATTERJEE

An interesting reference in the Kathāsaritsāgara is to widow-pension in a stanza which runs as follows:--

> M_{\uparrow} te bhartary = aputrāyās = tasyā me vṛttaye = munā / taj-jīvana-caturbhāgo datto rājñā dayālunā //1

The above-quoted verse shows that, on the death of the husband, the childless woman got a fourth of the monthly salary of her husband who was an employee at the court of king Śrisena of Mālava. We have no other example of similar widow-pension in ancient India.

It is interesting to note that in those days there was no love lost between the mother-in-law and the daughter-inlaw and also between the latter and her sister-in-law. In one chapter2 of the Kathāsaritsāgara, we have the story of a crafty and cruel mother-in-law and her innocent daughter-inlaw. We cannot do better than to quote the following from the said story: "Many misfortunes befall wives, inflicted by mothers-in-law and sisters-in-law; therefore, I desire for you a husband's house of such a kind that in it there shall be no mother-in-law and no cruel sister-in-law."8

The Kathāsaritsāgara has tales about cheats, and we have the well-known story of Siva and Madhava.

¹ Ed. Parab and Durgaprasad, 73 258; see also Tawney and Penzer, The Ocean of Story, Vol. VI, p 119. [See below Proceedings of the Monthly Seminars held at the Centre of Advanced Study in AIHC, No. XXXVIII.—Ed]

² No. 29

^{3 29 117;} see also Tawney and Penzer, op. cit., Vol III, pp. 54-55.

⁴ Chapter 24.

reference⁵ to physician-cheats or quacks is of greater significance. In this story, we are told how a quack successfully cheated a foolish bald man. There is one clear and unequivocal reference to a case of widow-remarriage. In the story in question, the daughter of king Devasena of Pundravardhana remarries after the death of her husband and again after the demise of her second husband. This proves that widow-marriage was possible in ancient India not only in theory, ⁶ but also in practice.

There are some references to peculiar instruments in the same work; cf. "That machine, in which earth predominates, shuts doors and things of the kind.The shapes produced by the water-machine appear to be alive. But the machine in which fire predominates pours forth flames. And the wind machine performs actions, such as coming and going. And the machine produced from ether utters distinct language...... the wheel machine guards the water of immortality."

There is, however, no reason to suppose that all the instruments or machines, described above, existed in reality. But the first and the third of the list of instruments, viz. the earth-machine which shuts doors of all kinds and the fire-machine which pours forth falmes, might have existed. The

^{5 61. 180} ff.; Tawney and Penzer, op. cit., Vol. V, pp. 83 f.

⁶ Cf. Parāśara, IV. 30:

Naște m_ite pravrajite klibe ca patite patau || pañcasv=āpatsu nāriṇām patir=anyo vidhiyate ||

This verse is also repeated in the Nāradasmṛti, XII. 97.

⁷ See Tawney and Penzer, op. cit, Vol. III, p. 42; also 29.44-46:

Prthvī-pradhānam yantram yad=dvārādi pidadhāti tat |
pihitam tena saknoti na c=odghāṭayltum parah ||
ākāras=toya-yantr-otthah sajīva iva dṛṣyate |
tejomayam tu yad=yantram taj=jvālāḥ parimuñcati ||
vāta-yantram ca kuruṭe ceṣṭā gaty-āgam-ādikāh |
vyaktīkaroti c=ālāpam yantram=ākāśa-sambhavam ||

first-named instrument was obviously used to thwart the attempts of thieves at door-breaking. The fire-machine, described above, reminds us of the machine of the same kind referred to in the Mahābhārata.⁸ The last named instrument (ākāśa-sambhava yantra) reminds us of the modern telephone.

The work shows the predominant role the merchant class played in the society. A good number of the heroes and heroines are the sons and daughters of merchants. Sometimes a merchant's son was considered a more covetable bridegroom than a prince. It is said in this connection, "The prosperity of kings is very unstable, being like a courtesan to be enjoyed by force; but the prosperity of merchants is like a woman of good family." There are, however, also uncharitable remarks; e.g., in one place we are told that the merchants are eternally greedy for wealth (dhana-lubdha).10

The Kathāsaritsāgara does not offer us any character like the Brāhmaṇa of Ekacakrā¹¹ or a simple ascetic like Trijaṭa.¹² The Brāhmaṇas of this work are practical. Some of them are gamblers, e.g., Śaktideva (Ch. 24) and Vinītamati (Ch. 72), some avaricious and mean like Śaṅkarasvāmin (Ch. 24) and some thieves like Vasubhūti (Ch. 73) who has

⁸ Critical ed., III. 16.6; see also P. C. Roy's trans., Vol II, p. 37.

⁹ See Tawney and Penzer, Vol. VIII, p. 50.

^{10 3.54;} see also Tawney and Penzer, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 28; cf. Maliā-bhārata: "Good deeds are very rare in those that amass riches. It is said that wealth can never be acquired without injuring others, and that, when earned, it brings numerous troubles" (P. C Roy's trans., Vol. VIII, p. 50). ...

Ye vittam=abhipadyante samyaktvam teşu durlabham | druhyatah praiti tat prāhuh pratikülam yathātatham | (XII, 26.20) See also Rājataranginī, VIII. 127-29, to which my attention was drawn by Prof. D. C. Sircar.

¹¹ See Mbh., I. 156 ff

¹² See Rāmāyana, II 32.29 ff.

been described as a Cauracamūpati. 18 The story of seven foolish Brāhmaņa lads (Ch. 32) shows that there was no dearth of blockheads even in the highest caste. That the people of other castes had no special respect for the Brāhmaṇas is shown by the fact that even a washerman (dhāvaka) does not hesitate to kick a Brāhmaṇa woman. 14.

There are harrowing details about famines in various sections of the Kathāsaritsāgara.¹⁵ Sometimes even Brāhmanas were forced to eat the flesh of cow in order to save themselves from hunger.¹⁶ In such times even the husbands did not hesitate to abandon their wives.¹⁷

The profligate and faithless women outnumbered the devoted ones. As a matter of fact, there are more cuckolds in the Kathāsaritsāgara than in the Decameron of Boccaccio. Cases are not rare where a woman does not hesitate to cut the throat of her husband for her paramour (Ch. 32). The stories of Devasmitā (Ch. 13) and Kīrtisenā (Ch. 29), however, speak of women of high character. Devasmitā reminds us of Imogen of the Cymbeline. We also come across highly sophisticated and educated girls like Kanakarekhā (Ch. 24) and Udayavatī (Ch. 72) who could outwit in debate vastly learned persons belonging to the other sex.

Gambling was a great vice of the people, and we have referred to two Brāhmaṇas named Śaktideva and Vinītamati who were gamblers. It has been said: "Has not providence ordained for you the usual lot of the gambler? His arms are his only clothing, the dust is his bed, the cross-roads are his house, ruin is his wife." 18

^{13 73. 206.}

^{14 72, 208}

¹⁵ Tawney and Penzer, op. cit., Vol. VI, p 106;
bāhu prāvaraṇam śayyā pāmśavaś=catvaraṇ gṛham |
bhāiyā vidhvastatā dhātrā kitavasya hi nirmitam || (73.77).

Anti-social elements like thieves and robbers were very active. Roads were not safe and we have in one place 16 a lively and graphic account of a bloody clash between a group of merchants and a band of robbers. Some of the Nonaryan tribes like the Bhils, Savaras and Kirātas were regular bandits. Robbers were usually awarded the highest punishment. 17

^{16 19.106} ff.; see also Tawney and Penzer, op. cit, Vol. III, pp. 46 ff.

¹⁷ See Tawney and Penzer, op. cit., Vol. II, pp 60-62.

VATUKA-BHAIRAVA ON A SEAL

Sm. CHITRAREKHA GUPTA

I am indebted to Sri Premranjan Sen Gupta of 37/1 Gariahat Road, Calcutta-19, for giving me the opportunity of studying an interesting seal which is the subject of the present note, and to Sri Benu Sen for supplying me with a photograph of it. The seal was collected by Sri Sen Gupta from Rajgir or Nalanda, a decade ago. Made of well-burnt clay and circular in shape, the seal is 3.2 cm in diameter. The thickness of the disc varies from 4 to 6 cm. There are four holes across the length of the seal obviously for passing a thread. The reverse is flat.

The seal depicts a male figure, apparently nude, seated in lalit-asana on a couch, the two front legs of which are prominently shown. A serpent encircles his head, thus making a crown for him. His eyes are blurred. His nose is like that of a parrot and his upper lip is unusually heavy. On the whole, the facial expression is not a pleasing one. He has a pot belly with a deep navel mark. He wears a girdle around his waist, and is two-armed. The left hand placed against the chest seems to be in the abhaya-mudrā. The right hand is raised, and holds an uncertain object. To his left, there is a crouching dog, represented in profile and depicted vertically. To the right is a female figure, with an uncouth face, holding what may be a lamp-stand. At the back, over the left shoulder of the main figure, the branch of a tree can be seen. The symbol depicted over his right shoulder cannot be identified.

The association of the figure with a serpent, his nudity, the flabbiness of his body, the tree motif, etc., lead one to suggest that he is a Saivite deity. His companion, the dog, however, makes the indentification certain. The deity represented on the seal is Vatuka-Bhairava.

According to the description given in the Rūpamaṇḍana,² Vaṭuka-Bhairava should have eight-arms, six of which are to hold the khatvāṅga, pāśa, śūla, ḍamaru, kapāla and a snake, while one of the remaining hands should hold a piece of flesh and the other should be in the abhaya-mudrā. By the side of the deity, there should be a dog.

The Vatukabhairavakalpa, son the other hand, describes the deity as follows: "This aspect of Bhairava should have jatās of red colour, three eyes and a red body. He should carry in his hands the śūla, pāśa, damaru and kapāla and be riding upon a dog. Vatuka-Bhairava should be stark naked and be surrounded on all sides by a host of demons."

The description of Vatuka-Bhairava, as given in the Sāradātilaka Tantra, however, is different from the two given above. It describes the sāttvika, rājasika and tāmasika forms of the god. In his sāttvika form, the deity is young and joyful, and has fair hair, and beautiful ornaments. He is naked and holds in his two hands a trident and a staff. In his rājasika form, the god is smiling and resembles the resplendent sun. He wears the elephant's skin and a garland of blood-red colour. He has four hands, two of which hold trident and skull. The other two hands show the abhaya and varada mudrās. In the tāmasika form, the deity looks

¹ K. K. Das Gupta says that "the concept of Siva or Rudra-Siva being associated with a dog is as old as the days of the Atharvaveda and the Yajurveda" (Year Book of the Asiatic Society, 1967, p. 166).

² Cf T. A. Gopinatha Rao, Elements of Hindu Iconography, Vol. II, Part I, p. 177.

³ Ibid., p. 178.

⁴ N. K. Bhattasali, Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum, p 133.

⁵ Śrīvidyārņava Tantra also classifies the images of Vatuka-Bhairava into sāttvika, rājasika and tāmasika forms. Cf. S. S. Sastri, Iconography of Śrī Vidyārņava Tantra.

like a blue mountain. He is naked and is adorned with a skull-garland. He is eight-armed, holding the kettle-drum, goad, sword, lasso, snake, bell and skull. Another hand remains in the abhaya pose. The Śāradātilaka does not mention the dog in connection with Vaṭuka-Bhairava.

The descriptions of Vatuka-Bhairava, given in different texts, do not fully agree with each other, so that the different dhyānas of the deity appear to have been prevalent in different parts of the country. Along with the textual references, we should also take into account the extant specimens of Vatuka-Bhairava. In his representation, we seldom find all the details given in the texts.

Gopinatha Rao⁶ mentions four images of Vaţuka-Bhairava, one of them hailing from Pattisvaram being naked and holding in his four hands the śūla, pāśa, damaru and kapāla. He is adorned with a long necklace of small bells, and other ornaments. His katisūtra is formed by a snake. He has a terrific look and immediately behind him stands his companion, the dog, also adorned with a number of ornaments.

The Indian Museum specimen is four-armed and ithyphallic holding the śūla, khadga, pāśa and kapāla. He wears a garland of skulls and a pair of sandals. The dog is associated with him. The Museum of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society also has an image of Vatuka-Bhairava of the Indian Museum type. These two images are surrouded by piśācas. Vatuka-Bhairava of the Madras Museum holds his short dagger with its point downwards. In other respects, it is similar to the other images.

N.K. Bhattasali⁷ describes a small clay image of Vatuka-Bhairava in the Dacca Museum. "The god has a flabby belly and a long garland of skulls. Flames are coming out from his head. The eyes are round and rolling and the lips are parted in a horrible smile. The god has four arms. The

⁶ Op. cit., p. 179.

⁷ Op. clt., p. 134.

upper right hand holds a sword. The other right hand is broken. The upper left hand holds a staff; but as its upper part is broken, we cannot be sure whether it was merely a staff or a trident or a khatvānga. The figure is not naked and does not wear wooden sandals." The absence of the dog is also noteworthy.

J.N. Banerjea remarked that "the particular type of Bhairava usually found in Northern India goes by the name of Batuka (youthful) Bhairava." But he has enlisted only one image of this deity in his book on Hindu iconography. The four-armed Vatuka-Bhairava, hailing from Varanasi, holds in his hands a sword, a bell, a trident and a severed head. He wears a garland and a girdle of skulls. He is accompanied by a dog. H. Krishna Sastri has described an image of Vatuka-Bhairava, coming from Durgi in the Guntur District, Andhra Pradesh, which has similarity to the Varanasi image. The four-armed deity holds a sword, a drum, a trident and a severed head. The dog is as usual present there.

Thus all the extant images of Vatuka-Bhairava are four-handed. The eight- or two-armed images, as given in the texts, have not yet been found. He generally holds deadly weapons. But, according to the Rūpamaṇḍana and Sāradātilaka, one of his hands may be in the abhaya-mudrā and, in his rājasika form, Vaṭuka-Bhairava may have, according to the Sāradātilaka, one hand in the varada pose also, which is in conformity with the ideal of the god. The meditation of Vaṭuka-Bhairava is said to bring about fulfilment of all the wishes of the votary.

⁸ J. N. Banerjea, Development of Hindu Iconography, 2nd ed., p. 466.

⁹ Ibid., p. 482.

¹⁰ H Krishna Sastri, South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses, p 151



Fig. 1 —Seal bearing Image of Vaṭuka-Bhairava (p. 157) Fig. 2 —Kūrmūn Image of Indrāṇī (p. 165)





Cleaveland Museum Bronze Buddha Image Inscription of Year 313 (pp. 280-81)

The main iconographic traits of Vatuka-Bhairava are present in the seal under discussion. But it does not fully agree either with any of the textual descriptions or with his extant images. Iconographically, it has some novel features. More interesting in this respect is the presence of a female figure by the side of the god. She may be a devotee. But the grotesque look makes it probable that she is a demoness. Association of uncouth attendants with images of this Bhairava is not uncommon.

Vatuka-Bhairava's couch represented on the seal may be compared with the couches depicted on the Gupta coins. Of course, it must be admitted that the skilled hand of the master artists of the Gupta court is absent here. however, be remembered that, on the Nalanda seals, which depict a number of seated images, there is not a single piece providing this sort of asana for the deity.11 The bold relief in which the figures have been depicted, the sense of proportion displayed, and the way in which the space has been utilised indicate that the present seal cannot be placed much later than the Gupta period. Here lies the importance of the seal under study. The extant specimens of Vatuka-Bhairava images are not earlier than the 10th century A.D. Therefore, the seal under discussion seems to bear the earliest representation of the god.

¹¹ Cf. H Sastri, Nalanda and its Epigraphic Material

KEDĀRA

SAMARESH BANDYOPADHYAY

In an interesting paper entitled 'Historical Data in the Kuṭṭanīmata of Dāmodaragupta' published in Journ. Ind. Hist., Vol. XLVI, 1968, pp. 357-67, Ajay Mitra Shastri drew our attention to a verse of the Kuttanimata which mentions a coin called kedara and observed that 'kedara as a monetary denomination is unknown from any other source'. Later, in another paper on 'Numismatic References in the Kuttanimata of Damodaragupta' published in the Journ. Num. Soc. Ind., Vol. XXX, 1968, pp. 118-21, Shastri, however, noticed the mention of kedāra as a coin-name in the Kāśikā2 referred to by D.R. Bhandarkar as early as 1921 in his Carmichael Lectures on Ancient Indian Numismatics. Bhandarkar is of the opinion that kedāra of the Kāsikā is the same as the word kidara written on the obverse of the Kidara Kusana coins, and most probably the coin was so called after the Kidara Kusana dynasty, the existence of which in parts of the Punjab, and Kashmir is proved by the discovery of a large number of coins in pale and much debased gold. The letters ki(ke?)-da-ra

¹ Op. cit., p 366

² Op. cit, p. 120.

³ Op cit, p. 205 S. K Chakiabortty accepts Bhandarkar's suggestion (A Study of Ancient Indian Numismatics, p. 100; Ind. Hist. Quart., Vol. XV, pp. 73-74) Cf Rapson, IC, Pl. II. 16

⁴ It is interesting to note that the names read on these coins are all Indian; e.g., Krtavīrya, Sarvayaśah, Bhāsvat, Śīlāditya, Prakāśa and Kuśala (J. N. Banerjea in Comp Hist. Ind., Vol. II, p 252; B. N. Puri, India under the Kushāṇas, p. 76). According to P. Banerji Śato(ta?)mal[l]a is another name which occurs on a coin (JNSI, Vol. XV, p. 79). Scholars, however, are not sure about the date of the Kidāra Kuṣāṇas Bhandarkar places them between 425 and

written perpendicularly to the left of the seated goddess occur on the reverse of the coins bearing the name Toramāṇa and on the coins of Pravarasena and on all the Kārkoṭa coins. According to Stein, they are certainly copies of the coins of the later Kuṣāṇa rulers of Gandhāra, and are usually believed to contain the name of the founder of the kingdom of the Little Yue-chi called Ki-to-lo in the Chinese Annals. According to V.S. Agrawala, the Kāsikā's description of the kedāra as stamped is not correct since these coins were cast in moulds and not punched.

In this connection, attention may, however, be drawn to the commentary of Kṣemakīrti (c. 1275 A.D.) on a passage of the Bṛhatkalpabhāṣ ya which states: kavaḍḍagam-ādi tambe ruppe pīte tah=eva kevaḍie. Kṣemakīrti comments on this passage thus: kevaḍikā nāma yathā tatr=aiva pūrva-dese ketar-ābhidhāno nāṇaka-viseṣaḥ, i.e., kevaḍikā, otherwise known as ketara, was a coin current in the eastern region. Kṣemakīrti, thus, has not said anything specific about the metal, value and weight of the ketara coin. According to

⁹⁰⁰ A.D. (loc. cit.), but V. S. Agrawala in the 3rd-4th century A.D. (INSI, Vol. XV, p. 38) According to J. N. Banerjea (loc. cit.) and B. N. Puri (loc. cit.), they flourished in the latter part of the fourth or early in the fifth century A.D. Though it is difficult to ascertain exactly the time of the rule of the Kidāra Kuṣāṇa kings, their order of succession and the limits of the territories over which they ruled, the fact that their coins are crude copies of the 'sacrificing king and enthroned Ardochsho' type of the later Kuṣāṇas, as in the case of the 'Gadahara' or 'Gadakhara' tribe makes it certain that they are to be placed after the later Kuṣāṇa kings.

⁴a Gopal, EMCNI, 1966, pp. 57-59; Pl. I. 1, 5-12; II. 1-4, 6-7.

⁵ Rājataraiginī, Eng tran. Stein, Vol. II, p. 319; Cunningham, Coins of Mediaeval India, pp. 27 ff, Pl III 2-3, 9, 14, 17

⁶ JNSI, Vol. XV, p 38.

⁷ Ed. Punyavijaya, verse 1969; cf. also INSI, Vol. XIV, p. 109.

⁸ Brhatkalpabhāsya, II, p. 673. Cf. also Jaina Siddhānta Bhāskara (Hindi), Vol. XXI, Part I, p 11.

V.S. Agrawala⁹ and R.C. Agrawala,¹⁰ ketara seems to be the same as kedāra of the Kāšikā. They are further of the opinion that kedāra denotes the coins of the Kidāra Kuṣāṇas. But the fact that Kṣemakīrti describes ketara as a current-coin of the eastern region makes the identification of kedāra with ketara difficult; for it has not yet been established that the Kidāra Kuṣāṇas held sway over any part of Eastern India, and that their coins were popular in that area.

⁹ JNSI, Vol. XII, p. 197.

¹⁰ Jaina Siddhānta Bhāskara, loc. cit.

INDRĀŅĪ IMAGE FROM KŪRMŪN (BURDWAN DISTRICT)

Авилгт Сновн

Bengal has so far yielded very few images of Indrani, the sakti of the god Indra and generally counted as the fifth of the Sapta-mātṛkā. An Indrani image, curved on a single slab of stone, was discovered at Paogachha in the Bogra District, East Pakistan, and is now preserved in the Varendra Research Society's Museum at Rajshahi.¹ The Asutosh Museum of the University of Calcutta possesses a terracotta Indrani image of the 16th century discovered along with the other Mātṛkās at Mathbari in the village of Kabirajpur in the Faridpur District also in East Pakistan.

Another single figure of Indrānī has been found at the village of Kūrmūn (usually spelt Coormoon), 10 miles to the north-east of the Burdwan Railway Station. We propose to describe this image in the following lines.

This black-stone image, measuring 1'7" × 10½", is the only Indrāṇī image so far discovered in West Bengal.² Both the deity and the mount are treated here in high relief, both having separate volume and mass. Stylistically it belongs to the medieval age; the figure is more or less realistic, and from the proportion of its limbs, we can place it in the 14th century A.D. approximately. The date of this image is later than that of the Paogachha sculpture, but earlier than that of the Kabirajpur terracotta.

¹ See History of Bengal, Vol. I, ed. Majumdar, Plate LXVII. 163.

² Of the terracottas from Chandraketugarh, noteworthy is an elephant-god, holding on his lap a dwarf woman (*Indian Archaeology*, 1959-60, ed. A. Ghosh, Plate LXV-E). But it is difficult to say whether the woman is Indrani.

The goddess is seated in the lalit-āsana posture, hown also as lalit-ākṣepa, a sukh-āsana manner of sitting, in which one of the legs is pendant, while the other is bent. Her right leg is bent and left leg dangling and placed on the hind half of the mount. She has two eyes which are almost closed as in the Paogachha image. In both these cases, her face is like that of a hen's egg (kukkuṭānḍavat). Her nose looks like a parrot's beak (śuka-cañcuvat). Realistic is the shape of her breasts and of the mount's legs, also the manner of representing her.

The Kūrmūn image sits on an elephant $(ga \not\vdash \bar{a}san\bar{a})^{10}$ just as her lord Indra has the elephant as his mount (matta- $v\bar{a}rana-samsthita$). Here the mount is standing as in the Kabirajpur image.¹¹

³ Indrāṇī generally sits in *lalit-āsana* and sometimes in *vajr-āsana* (cf. figure curved on the wall of the Parasurāmesvara temple, Bhubaneswar).

⁴ Sometimes a lotus is curved as her seat (cf. the figure in the Indian Museum, No 6493-A25214). But there is no lotus here.

⁵ The reverse is the case in the Paogachha and Kabirajpur images.

⁶ Generally Indrāṇī has two-eyes (locana-dvaya-sanyutā); but she may have three-eyes (tri-netrā). And as Indra has thousand-eyes, she is often described as thousand-eyed (sahasra-dik, sahasra-nayanā).

⁷ The application of almost-closed eyes is an early development in Indian iconography, though large eyes (as in the Kabirajpur image) are found in many female figures painted in the Ajanta caves

⁸ The Kabirajpur image has her face looking like a betel-leaf (tāmbula-patravat)

⁹ The shape of the mount's legs in the Paogachha image is completely realistic; but in the Kabirajpur image, it is conventional, though the artist has shown much skill in presenting the running posture of the mount.

¹⁰ Sometimes two elephants are curved on her two sides. Cf. the sculpture belonging to the Indian Meseum (No. 3938), wherein on each side of the deity is an elephant, with a female riding on it.

¹¹ The Paogachha image has a crouching mount.

Indrānī is two-armed.¹² In her right hand, she has the vajra¹⁸ (which Indra holds as his weapon; ¹⁴ cf. vajr-ot-pala-dhara), and in the other, there is the ankusa; ¹⁵ cf. sakti-vajra-dharā, vajra-hastā and vajr-ānkusa-dharā. ¹⁶ The

- 14 For vajra or thunderbolt, see Burgess, Elura Cave Temple, p 12 It has been said, "Vajra seems to have been represented in early art in two different ways one is club-like in appearance, narrow in the middle and wider at both ends (cf in the upper right hand of Siva on a coin of Huvişka) and the other is a double-faced weapon ending in projecting prongs at its both ends" When two thunderbolts are crossed, it is called a viśva-vajra. See Vāstuśāstra, ed. Sukla, Vol II, p. 139.
- 15 "Ankuśa or the elephant-goad is a weapon consisting of a sharp metal hook attached to a wooden handle." See T A Gopinatha Rao, Elements of Hindu Iconography, Vol. I, Part II, p. 8.
- 16 Generally Indrani holds these two weapons; but other objects are also noticed. The second image of the Indian Museum has a camara (fly-whisk). The first image of the same Museum has a kalasa (water vessel of metal or earth, different from the kamandalu or kundikā which is smaller in size and is provided with a projecting pipe for discharging water) in her lower left hand. The Indrani image in the Parasurāmesvara temple has it in her right hand, though, according to the Devatāmūrtiprakarana, it should be in the left hand. The image in the Navamunigumpha has a kamala (lotus) in the lower lest hand (cf utpala-dhārinī; see vajr-otpala-dhara in the case of Indra). The images in the Markandesvara temple and in the Orissa State Museum carry a child in the lower left hand. Sometimes Indrani is said to hold a sūtia (cf. $c=\bar{a}ksas\bar{u}tra$ and sutrini) Paogachha image has nothing in her left hand, though the Kabirajpur image holds an arrow in the right hand and a bow in the left, and this is a later development. Sometimes Indrani's hands are shown in the abhaya or protection-offering hand-pose, and varada or boonoffering pose of the hand (cf. abhayam tad-adhah-kare).

¹² She is generally two-armed, but may have four-arms (catur-bhujā); cf. the image of the Mārkandeśvara temple, Purī (wherein the upper left arm and the lower right one are broken); that of the Navamunigumphā, Khandagiri, Bhubaneswar; that of the Orissa State Museum (wherein the lower right arm is broken); etc Again the first image of the Indian Museum has eight arms, six of them being broken.

¹³ Sometimes the *vajra* is accompanied by a shell or some lotus-petals. Cf. the upper right hand of the first image of the Indian Museum

goddess, like Indra (cf. nān-ābharaṇa-bhūṣitā), is decked with various ornments; cf. divy-ābharaṇa-bhūṣitā, sarv-ābharaṇa-saṃyuktā, vastr-ālaṅkāra-sampannā, and sarv-ābharaṇa-bhūṣitā. She has a nicely decorated kirīṭa¹¹ on her head (cf. kirīṭinī), a pair of kaṅkaṇas (bracelets) in each hand, keyūra (bājubandha, armlet) on the upper portion of both the arms (cf. hāra-keyūra-bhūṣitā), a pair of ratna-kuṇḍalas (ear-rings) in her ears, two hāras (necklaces)—a short one round the neck and the other hanging on the breast, nūpuras on the feet, a certain type of ornament round the heel, kaṭimekhalā or kaṭibandha round her waist and yajūapavīta round the upper portion of the body. The mount is also well-adorned.

The Kūrmūn image has a piece of upper garment, the two edges of which are found below the right arm in the right side and above the left shoulder in the left, and a piece of lower garment, decorated with long stripes and going round her waist (cf. vastr-ālankāra-sampannā).

On the left side of Indrānī, is the standing figure of a female devotee, 18 holding a chatra or umhrella (cf. chatra-cāmara-dhārinyaḥ striyaḥ pāršve pradaršayet).

¹⁷ Kirīta-mukuta is a conical cap sometimes ending in an ornamental top carrying a central pointed knob. It is covered with jewelled discs in front or on all sides, and has jewelled bands round the top as well as the bottom. The kirīta-mukuṭa should be worn exclusively by Nārāyaṇa among the gods, by Sārvabhauma Cakrayartins or emperors and by adhirājas or superior governors For karandamukuṭa and other details, see Gopinatha Rao, Elements of Hindu Iconography, Vol I. pp. 29-30.

¹⁸ Other Indrāṇī images (like Indra described as Gandharva-gana-saniyuta) are also with attendants. The Paogachha image is adorned with two Gandharvas flying above, the first Indian Museum image by fourteen female devotees, devas and Gandharvas on all sides and the Orissa State Museum image by a devotee sitting by the mount and other flying Gandharvas, Apsarases and Cāmara-dhāriṇīs. But the Kabirajpur image has no attendant.

Tradition says that the Kūrmūn image was built by the order of king Mahendra of Karṇasuvarṇa; it was lost during the depredations of Kālāpāhāḍ, but was discovered from a tank named Indradīghi. In the Burdwan District, there was the Indrāṇī Pargana which may or may not be associated with the goddess.

There is no writing inscribed on the figure.19

APPENDIX

I. Indra

idānīm Sura-rājasya rūpam vakṣye viśeṣataḥ ||
sahasra-nayanam devam matta-vāraṇa-samsthitam |
pṛth-ūru-vakṣo-vadanam simha-skandham mahābhujam ||
kirīṭa-kuṇḍala-dharam pīvar-oru-bhuj-ekṣaṇam |
vajr-otpala-dharam tad-van=nān-ābharaṇa-bhūṣitam ||
pūjitam deva-gandharvair=apsaro-gaṇa-sevitam |
chatra-cāmara-dhāriṇyaḥ striyaḥ pārṣve pradarṣayet ||
simhāsana-gatam c=āpi gandharva-gaṇa-samyutam |
Indrāṇīm vāmataṣ=c=āsya kuryād=utpala-dhārinīm ||
Matsyapurāṇa, 259. 65-69.

II Indrāņī

Indrānim=Indra-sadṛśīm vajra-śūla-gadā-dharām || gaj-āsana-gatām devīm locanair=bahubhir=vṛtām | tapta-kāñcana-varṇ-ābhām divy-ābharaṇa-bhūṣitām || Ibid., 31-32.

gaj-āsanā c=āksasūtram dandah pāsah kamandaluh |
Aindrī devī ca kartavyā cāmundā pretagā tathā ||
Aparājitaprechā quoted in The Vāstusāstra,
ed. D. N. Sukla, Vol. II, p. 235.

¹⁹ The first image in the Indian Museum has §rī-Indrānī inscribed on the pedestal.

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catur-bhujā tri-netrā ca rakta-varņā kirīţinī |
  śakti-vajra-dharā c=aiva varad-ābhaya-pāṇinī ||
  sarv-ābharaṇa-samyuktā gaja-dhvaja-savāhinī |
  Indrāṇī c=eti vikhyātā kalpadruma-samāśritā ||
                            Amsumadbhedagama, 47th Patala.
  Aindrī sahasra-drk saumyā hem-ābhā gaja-samsthitā |
  varadā sūtriņī vajram vibhroty=ūrdhvain tu daksiņe
 vāme tu kalasam (kamalam?) pātram=abhayam tad-adhalı-
                                                        kare 📙
              Devatāmūrtiprakaraņa, Cal. Sans. Ser., No. XII,
              ed. N. C. Vedantatirtha, p. 158, Ch. 8|71.
 Sākrī virodhināme ca vajra-hastā gaje sthitā ||
 surūp=ānkuśa-hastā ca hāra-keyūra-bhūşitā |
 gaņa-gandharva-sarnyuktā siddha-cāraṇa-sevitā ||
 Aindrī sura-var-ādhyakṣā gaja-rāj-opari sthitā
 vajr-ānkusa-dharā devī hāra-keyūra-bhūsitā ||
                                 Devīpurāṇa, 50. 143-44, 210.
 Vajra-hastā gaj-ārūḍhā locana-dvaya-samyutā |
 vastr-ālankāra-sampannā gajendra-dhvaja-vāhanā ||
 varad-ābhaya-sakty-āpta-vāhukendu (bāhuk=Aindrī?)
                                                   prakīrtitā |
                               Pūrvakāraņāgama, 12th Paţala.
Indrāṇī ca I(c=e)ndra-sadṛśī vajra-śūla-gadā-dharā |
gaj-āsana-gatā devī locanair=bahubhir=vṛtā ||
                    Rūpamandana, Cal. Sans. Ser., No. XII,
                   ed. N. C. Vedantatirtha, 5.69.
Sakrāṇin Sakravat kuryāc—Cāmuṇḍīm—ugra-rūpiṇim |
varad-ābhaya-hastās=tu tat-tad-āyudha-dhāriṇyaḥ ||
tat-tad-varṇa-samāyuktā vāhana-dhvaja-samyuktāh
caturbhujās=tu sarvā$=ca nalin-āsana-samsthitāḥ ||
                              Suprabhedāgama, 42nd Paţala.
vajrahastā tath=aiv=Aindrī gaja-rāj-opari shtitā |
prāptā sahasra-nayanā yathā $akras=tath=aiva sā ||
kirīţini mahāvajre sahasra-nayan-ojjvale |
Vṛtra-prāṇa-hare c=Aindri Nārāyaṇi namo=stu te |
                          Mārkandeyapurāņa, 8. 11 and 19.
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Oin vajrahastā devī Aindrī gāja-rāj-opari sthitā |
Raktavīja-vadhe devī mahāhave samāgatā ||
tapta-kāñcana-varn-ābhā supratiṣṭhā sulocanā |
pūrṇa-yauvana-sampannā sarv-ābharaṇa-bhūṣitā ||
daitya-kṣayakarī devī mahāśakti-samanvitā |
prasanna-vadaṇā bhadrā sarva-kāma-phala-pradā ||
Dhyānamantra of the Kūrmūn image.*

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TRANSLATIONS

THE MAHĀBHĀŞYA AND KRŞŅA-DRAMA

M. WINTERNITZ

[Translated by P. Ghosh from Part I (Das Mahābhāsya und das Kṛṣṇa-drama) of Winternitz' 'Kṛṣṇa-dramen' appearing in the Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft, Band 74, Leipzig, 1920, pp. 118 ff.]

People have till now believed to have seen the first sure proofs of the existence of a kind of drama in India in the famous passage, dealing with the Saubhikas (or Sobhanikas) and Granthikas, in Patanjali's Mahābhāsya (on Pāņini, III. I. 26; Värttika 15), which was brought to light at first by Albrecht Weber1 and since then has been quoted very often. It was believed that the Saubhikas were 'actors' who 'in person' represented on a stage such scenes as 'the chaining of Bali' and 'the killing of Kamsa'. The Granthikas, it is believed, were reciters who not only recited the same stories lively, but also were divided for the purpose into two groups, of which one coloured the face red and the other black. Such a dramatic recital would, therefore, no more be far away from a 'drama'. People believed to have seen in the examples quoted from Patanjali a glaring proof in support of the hypothesis, already put forward by Chr. Lassen, that the Indian drama had originated from the cult of Vişnu-Krşna.

But recently H. Lüders* has shown that the passage in

¹ Ind. Stud., Vol. 13, 1873, pp. 488 ff.; cf. Bhandarkar, Ind. Ant., Vol. III, 1874, pp. 14 ff.

² Indische Alterthumskunde, Vol. II, p. 504, and his Gitagovinda, Prolegomena, p. vii; cf. L. von Schroeder, Indiens Literatur und Kultur, Leipzig, 1887, pp 578 ff.

^{3 &#}x27;Die Saubhikas. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des indischen Dramas', Sitzungsberichte der Beiliner Akademie, 1916, XXXIII, pp. 714 ff.

the Mahābhāṣya, which is indeed very difficult, has till now always been misunderstood. According to him, the passage dealing with the Saubhikas and Granthikas (Mahābhās ya, ed. Kielhorn, Vol. 2, p. 36) is to be translated in the following way: "What mainly concerns these so-called Saubhikas is that they describe the killing of Kamsa standing before the eyes and the fettering of Bali standing before the eyes. How sis the present tense in Kamsam ghatayati correct, when the story of the killing of Kamsa is being described] with pictures? The swing of arms for striking, the hurling of blows and the dragging of Kamsa can also be seen in the pictures How far [is the use of the present tense in Kainsam ghātayati, etc., correct] when it deals with the Granthikas (Vorleser) in connection with whom [however] only the relations of words (die Verbindung von Worten) are being observed? In course of discussing the fates of the persons (Kamsa, Bali and Väsudeva), from the beginning to the end, they also let them appear as existing actually in the imagination of the listeners. And on that account [I say]: 'existing actually', because they become evident. One party sides with Kamsa, the other with Vasudeva. They of course show the difference in the colour of the face. The members of one party colour their faces red, the others do it black.

Not only the Saubhikas but also the Granthikas, according to it, were reciters, and actually the Saubhikas were those who described the legends of Visnu and Siva, etc., with the demonstration of silhouette (Schattenbilder) or of fixed pictures for the purpose of explanation or possibly also with the performances of silent players, while the Granthikas were reciters who recited from books (manuscripts, grantha).

A. Hillebrandt rejects the explanation of Saubhika

⁴ ZDMG, Vol. 72, 1918, pp. 227ff.

as 'shadow-player' and takes it to be-with reference to the commentators—a theatre-director (Spielleiter), differing little or not at all from the sūtradhāra or sthāpaka on the stage. Therefore, Patanjali had, according to him, actual performances in mind in which case the Saubhikas would have announced to the spectators the content of the coming piece—the killing of Kamsa in person. This interpretation is not far removed from the old one regarding the Saubhikas as actors which Lüders has proved with good reasons to be incorrect. When Patanjali says that the Saubhikas narrate the killing of Kamsa, then it will deal not exactly with the dramatic performances, rather only with recitations. But a theatre-director, "who teaches to interpret the roles", is, however, no reciter. explanation of Hillebrandt correct, then the future tense would be more relevant than the present tense; for the Saubhika (= Sūtradhāra) would not narrate the killing of Kamsa standing in person before the eyes, rather he would only announce that Kamsa would be killed.

I cannot wholly follow Lüders' explanation of the passage relating to the Saubhika, even if I deviate less from him than from Hillebrandt. Lüders has rightly found it striking that, in the words citreşu katham, the pictures and not artists demonstrating them, as in the case of the Saubhikas and Granthikas, are being spoken of. That is why he rejects the older explanation, according to which citreşu should refer to painters who explain their pictures, and thinks that Patañjali speaks of two types of Saubhikas, one of whom demonstrated the silhouette and the other showed fixed pictures. According to the translation of Lüders, Patañjali, therefore, presupposes the activity of the Saubhikas simply as a known fact and only says that they describe the killing of Kamsa standing before the eyes. Then it strikes him that there were also the Saubhikas who showed fixed

pictures and he speaks about them in more detail. We cannot quite follow why he has not referred [firstly] in one word to the Saubhikas who, according to Lüders, are supposed to be shadow-players (Schattenspieler), [and secondly to the point] how they narrate the killing of Kamsa "standing before the eyes", as he has done it in connection with the picture-singers (Bildersaenger) and the Granthikas. That is why I mean that Patanjali speaks not at all about three, rather about two different types of reciters—about picture-singers and Granthikas. And actually I would like to translate: "What mainly concerns the Saubhikas is that they let Kamsa standing before the eyes be killed and let Bali standing before the eyes be chained up, [namely] in pictures. But why? In the pictures also [which they show and explain through their descriptions] one sees how the arms swing before striking, how the blows are effected and how Kamsa is being dragged on the floor."

More difficult is the passage dealing with the Granthikas. However, I lelieve that Lüdérs assumes a change of the subject, because he refers the words kecit Kamsa-bhaktā bhavanti, etc., to the listeners whereas the text speaks only about the reciter. Further he means that partisanship for the angry Kamsa from the side of the listeners indeed contradicts the Indian feeling, but he finds it conceivable that "the reciters with assigned roles divide themselves in the groups of Kṛṣṇa and Kamsa respectively." That is why he comes back to the old explanation according to which the Granthikas "for the purpose of animating the lectures and for the understanding of the public have painted their faces, actually corresponding to the different rasas, here red and black: red, the sign of raudra-rasa which corresponds to the character of Kamsa, the enemy of Krsna; black, the sign of bhayanaka-rasa corresponding to the persecuted Krsna,"

Against this interpretation, Lüders has already cited good reasons: 1. that in the words yatra sabda-gadu-mātram laks yate the meaning of which may always lie hidden in the unfortunate word gadu, the sense in any case is that the Granthikas describe only with words, whereas it would stand in contradiction if it were said that they divided themselves in two groups marked by different colours of the face; 2. that no reason is in view why Kamsa is to be painted red; 3. that the division in two groups and the colouring of the faces would prove nothing in support of the use of the present tense which could, however, be of importance to Patanjali. Hillebrandt took up only the second objection because he refers to the rasa-colours. But the passage in the Bharatiya-Nāt yasāstra (ed. Grosset), VIII. 159-62, which Hillebrandt seems to have in mind, treats not the painting of the colour of the face for the expression of different states of mind. Here it is:

> vīra-raudra-mad-ādyeşu raktah syāt karuņe tathā | bhayānake sabībhatse syāmam samjāyate mukham ||

The face of the actor is therefore to become red when the feelings and tempers of heroism, dreadfulness, pride or sympathy are to be expressed, and black when those of fear or disgust are to be shown. I do not think that this passage can at all be referred to here. But if one thinks of the rasa-colours as they are enumerated in the Nāṭyaiāstra (ed. Grosset), VI. 42 f.: $iy\bar{a}mo$ bhavati $iy\bar{n}g\bar{a}rah$ rakto raudrah prakīrtitah.....krsnas = c = aiva bhayānakah | then this passage can be applied to our case only with difficulty. The colours are then to correspond to the rasas, and not to the characters. And if the red colour be appropriate to the horrible Kamsa when he threatens Kṛṣṇa, so the black colour is little suitable to the hero Kṛṣṇa who, according to the legend, does not know fear at all, who destroys all demons and pulls down the evil Kamsa from the tribune and kills him.

The change of the subject is striking; but it, however, appears to be justified through buddhi-viṣayān; for buddhi necessitates a genitive like "of the listeners" as a supplement out of which the new subject results. Also the following sentences: traikālyam khalv = api loke lakṣyate | gaccha hanyate Kamsah, etc., refer to the conversations among the listeners.

As against that, Hillebrandt's consideration seems to be justified that amongst the public a partisanship for the malicious demon Kamsa was found. But why should those who side with Kamsa become red in face and those siding with Kṛṣṇa black? We can only imagine that at the moment, when the killing of Kamsa by Kṛṣna is being described, some of the listeners side with Kamsa in so far as Kamsa stands before their mind's eye as being pulled down by Kṛṣṇa in the arena, dragged on the floor and killed and, on that account, they become red with scorn. On the other hand, in the imagination of others only Krsna is present, for whose life they fear, and they become on that account black with anxiety. It would possibly give a better meaning if, following the Benares edition, we could transpose the words rakta-mukhāh and kāla-mukhāh. The meaning would then be: Those listening to the story of the killing of Kamsa, siding instinctively with him5 and having anxiety for him, become black in face, while others, who only think of Krsna and imagine in their mind the heroic youth, become on that account-corresponding to the vira-rasa-red.

When difficulties arise in connection with both the views about the passage in the *Mahābhās ya*, it, however, appears to me that the objections raised by Lüders against the old view are stronger than the reflections raised against the new view.

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⁵ The words Kamsa-bhakīāh and Vāsudeva-bhaktāh are in no way to be understood here in the sense of actual reverers, disciples or followers.

What therefore Patanjali says is the following: At first he says that a causative is used when an action is described in a story. It is said, for example, about one who describes the chaining of Bali by Visnu or the killing of Kamsa by Kṛṣṇa: "He lets Bali to be fastened" or "He lets Kamsa to be The grammarian further raises the question as to how one can use in this case the present tense, since already a long time ago Bali had been chained and Kamsa killed by The present tense, he says, is here quite correct. Krsna. These are, in the first instance, the so-called Saubhikas who delineate such stories with the help of pictures. connection with them it is quite clear that one can say that they let Kamsa as some one standing before the eyes [in the picture] to be killed. But the present tense is also justified in connection with the Granthikas, the reciters, who, using the books (grantha), recite their stories only through the articulation of words. For, while they describe the destiny of their heroes, they produce the effect that the described one is present in the imagination of the listeners. So much is this the case that the listeners even take sides, some with Kamsa and the others with Krsna. This is manifested in the colours of their faces, because one group becomes red with scorn, the other black with fear. Pataniali adds, "the three times are being well observed in the conversation of the people when one hears words like the following: 'Go, Kamsa is being killed', 'Go, Kamsa will be killed'; 'What for am I to go?', 'Kamsa has already been killed'."

From the passage in the Mahābhāṣya, it only follows that there had been literary treatments of the legends about the demon-battles of Visnu and about 'the killing of Kamsa'⁷

⁶ Could not sabda-gadana-mātram be read for sabda-gadu°? [It is also found as sabda-grantha-gadda-mātram.—Ed]

⁷ It is not in the least certain that the whole history of Kṛṣṇa's youth, as the legend tells it as an introduction to the killing of Kaṃsa,

by Kṛṣṇa in the second century B.C., and these were recited before big public gatherings with the exhibition of pictures or with the use of manuscripts, and people willingly came to listen to these recitations. That they had a religious character can well be accepted. For we know from the Mahābhās ya (on Pāṇini, IV. 3.98 f.)8 that there had been a Kṛṣṇa cult at the time of Patanjali. According to Lüders' views, the Saubhikas had also performed shadow-plays along with their recitations. Were this view correct, we would have to accept that, in the second century B.C., already a kind of dramatic performances of scenes from the Kṛṣṇalegends existed. But Lüders must himself admit that the proof cannot be furnished from the Mahābhās ya that the Saubhikas showed shadow-plays. Nobody will doubt that the Saubhikas of the Kautiliya-Arthasāstra, the Sobhiyas in the Jātaka-gāthās and the Sobhikas in the Mahāvastu are identical with the Saubhikas of the Mahābhāsya. But none of these passages gives any information about the activities of the artists mentioned. Also the sobhanaka (if this is the right reading) appearing in the Brahmajālasutta (I. 13), which Liiders explains with some probability as a sign of the art of the Sobhiyas, does not let itself be proved (as Lüders himself admits) as shadow-play.

In India shadow-plays are not actually attested before the thirteenth century. In the explanation of the *Mahābhārata* (12. 295. 5), Lüders is inclined, together with Pischel, to follow Nīlakaṇṭha who appears to explain rūpopajīvana as "the demonstration of silhouette." In no way is this exaplanation convincing. As Lüders himself admits, other

was already known at the time of Patafijali. According to R. G. Bhandarkar (*Vaiṣṇavism, Ṣaivism and Minor Religious Systems* [Grundriss III 6. 1913], p. 35), this is not to be accepted.

⁸ Here it means that by Vāsudeva in the sūtra of Pāṇini not the Kṣatriya Vāsudeva rather the god is meant,

examples are just as well possible. Moreover, the passage of the Mahābhārata would lead us back to no particularly high antiquity. Doubtful is also the explanation of rupparūpakam in the Therīgāthā (394), in any case too weak a basis for attributing the shadow-play to the pre-Christian period and for connecting the thirteenth century A.D. to the Mahābhāṣ ya of Patañjali.

If the Saubhikas of the Mahābhāṣya do not let themselves be proved as shadow-players, and if the Granthikas held their recitations not with divided roles and painted faces, as it is till now believed to be, then the possibility of every reference to the Mahābhāṣya for the beginnings of the Indian drama dwindles. That is why Patañjali can no more be cited as an evidence in support of the belief that the Indian drama originated from the Kṛṣṇa cult.

It is hardly necessary to dilate any more on the frailty of the unsteady structure of the hypothesis which A. B. Keith^o has erected in connection with the origin of the Indian drama just on the basis of the Mahābhāṣ ya.

But by this it is not to deny that, inspite of all this, dance-plays could have already existed in the pre-Christian times, in which the life of the hero and shepherd-god Kṛṣṇa was celebrated. The fact, 10 observed long ago, that, among the Prakrit dialects used in the drama, the Sauraseni, the dialect of Sūrasena or Mathurā, stands in the foreground appears to point to a special relation of dramatic performances to Mathurā, the native land of the Kṛṣṇa cult. On the other hand, it is striking that the poets of the Classical and post-Classical periods have again and again handled the Rāma legend dramatically, whereas the Kṛṣṇa legend was treated in drama for the first time in

⁹ ZDMG, Vol. 64, 1910, pp. 534 ff.; JRAS, 1912, pp. 411ff.

¹⁰ Weber, Ind. Stud., Vol 13, p 491; S Lévi, Théatre Indien, pp 331f.

the 15th and 16th centuries, especially among the disciples of Gaitanya.* For we cannot, however, accept the Gitagovinda of Jayadeva as a dramatic work. In the 15th century, the drama (nāṭikā) Vṛṣabhānujā is said to be composed by Mathurādāsa, which deals with the love of Krsna and Rādhā. Rūpa Gosvāmin, a disciple of Caitanya (16th century) composed the Kṛṣṇa-dramas Lalitamādhava (in 10 acts) and Vidagdhamādhava (in 7 acts) and the Bhāna called In the 16th century, Sesakṛṣṇa, a con-Dānakelikaumudī. temporary of the emperor Akbar, composed a seven-act drama, Kamsavadha, which deals with the killing of Kamsa by Kṛṣṇa and the previous events according to the 10th book of the Bhāgavatapurāņa. A philosophical-allegorical Kṛṣṇa-drama is the Caitanyacandrodaya of the Bengali Kavikarnapura who was born in 1524. A peculiar but also completely modern drama is the Bhāṇa called Mukundānanda by Kāśīpati Kavirāja, in which Kṛṣṇa hardly differentiates himself from the vitas as they appear in the other Bhanas.

Under these conditions, it is in any case very important that the poet *Bhāsa* composed not only two Rāma-dramas (*Abhiṣeka-nāṭaka* and *Pratimā-nāṭaka*), but also a Kṛṣṇa-drama (*Bālacarita*).

^{* [}The popularity of Kṛṣṇa-plays before Caitanya (1486-1533 AD.) is indicated by Kṛṣṇa-dramas in the regional languages, e.g., those by Sankaradeva (born c 1449 AD.) of Assam. Rāmāṇandarāya wrote his Jagaṇṇāthavallabha-nāṭakam before his contact with Caitanya—Ed.]

HISTORY OF BUDDHISM IN INDIA

(Introductory Portion)

LAMA TĀRANĀTHA

[The Tibetan original was translated by Harināth De in The Herald, January and February, 1911. This has been communicated to us by Sri Sunil Bandyopadhyay.]*

*[Besides the fame of Harināth De (1877-1911) as a marvellous polyglot, his countrymen know very little about him. That is due primarily to Harināth's premature death at the age of thirtyfour and to the fact that his published writings are meagre and of an esoteric nature. There is no authentic biography of Harināth, which can do justice to his extraordinary scholastic achievement.

This doyen of Indological studies in India is easily amongst the pioneers of Indic studies. This aspect of Harināth's career 1s, however, largely overlooked, although in his lifetime Harināth had impressed, and was held in high esteem by, the then reputed Indologists of international standing. An inspired scholar himself, Harināth grew around him a coterie of friends which included such researchers in the field of Indology as Sogen Yamakami, Ernst Theodor Bloch, E Denison Ross, Dharmananda Kosambi, Abdullah-al-Mammun Suhrawardy, Auguste Fortier and others

It was in his last official position as Librarian, Imperial Library, Calcutta, that Harināth, the savant, found a congenial playground for nurturing his scholasticism of a multi-lingual dimension. Among the work Haiināth did, in part or in full, mostly during the tenure of his service as Librarian, he edited two important texts of Buddhist philosophy, namely, Lankāvatārasūtra and Nirvānavyākliyānaśāstra, under the auspices of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and the Tārīkh-i-Nuṣratjangi, an account of Dacca written by Nusrat Jang, Nawab of Dacca; he also edited, with commentaries in Fiench, Memone de M. Jean Law, and translated Kālidāsa's Şakuntalā with an introduction and Subandhu's Vāsavadattā with four unpublished and one published commentaries, he undertook the compilation of an Arabic Grammar, a Sanskrit Grammar and an English-Persian Vocabulary

The celebrated Tibetan historian Lama Tāranātha was born in 1573 A.D., and was called "Kun-dgah sỹyin-po" or The Essence of Happiness His History of Buddhism in India was completed in 1608 A.D. and certainly occupies considerable historical weight. The main

Om. Svasti Prajābhyah.

"The Desired Treasure of the Necessitous or a Clear Exposition of the Manner and the Way in which the Gem of the Excellent Doctrine, which is Prosperity's Source adorned with brilliant Good Fortune, was propagated in in the Ārya Land."

Reverence be to [the] Buddha, to his sons and to his disciples. I bow to the Lord of the Munis, to the Lord of the Clouds, who having emerged from the domain of Existence on the path of the Gods, wears the rainbow of characteristics and signs and pours down the gentle nectareous rain of Karma.

Here also scholars of annals and early history, when they endeavour to bring into unison the various histories of the Ārya Land, are stuck with the cause of their defect, seeing that their cleverness stops short, and their case, become s similar to that of a pauper when abundant stores are placed before his eyes.

Moreover, it is because I had myself noticed many gross mistakes in some scholars' expositions of the sources of the Doctrine, that this chain of histories, having for its object the removal of error, has been put together by me in a brief compass for the use of others.

orientation of his work is meant to be an assessment of the whole epoch from the time of king Ajātaśatru to that of the Sena king of Bengal with special reference to Buddhist teachers, doctrines and organizations.

In this translation, Harinath followed Anton Schiefner's Tibetan text published in 1868 at St. Petersburg under the title Taranathae de Doctrinae Buddhicae in India Propagatione. In connection with this translation Harinath wrote: "Very great help has been derived from Wassilief's Russian and Schiefner's German versions of the work. Wherever I have had occasion to differ from these great scholars, I have indicated my reasons in a footnote"* —Sunil Bandyopadhyay]

^{* [}There is no such foot-note in the portion communicated to us. —Ed]

The principal things contained herein are as follows:-

- I. Of the race of king "Virtue-seer" (Schiefner conjectures Ksemadarsin), there are four:—
- (a) Subāhu; (b) Sudhenu; (c) Mahendra; and (d) Camasa.
 - II. Of the race of Asoka are four :-
- (a) Vigataśoka; (b) Vīrasena; (c) Nanda; and (d) Mahāpadma.
 - III. From the race of Candra came :-
- (a) Haricandra; (b) Akṣatacandra; (c) Jayacandra; (d) Nemacandra; (e) Phaṇicandra; (f) Vaṁśacandra; and (g) Śālacandra.

Then came—(h) Candragupta; (i) Bindusāra; and the latter's nephew (j) Śrīcandra.

Besides these three are (k) Dharmacandra; (l) Karmacandra; (m) Vṛkṣacandra; (n) Vigamacandra;

- (o) Kāmacandra; (p) Simhacandra; (q) Bālacandra;
- (r) Govicandra; and (s) Lalitacandra.

If we omit Bindusāra, we shall find nineteen (?—Ed.) kings with names ending in candra, out of whom Akṣatacandra, Jayacandra, Dharmacandra, Karmacandra [..,..—Ed.] and Vimalacandra are known as 'the Seven Moons' (Sapta-candrāḥ); and with the addition of Candragupta, Govicandra and Lalitacandra, they constitute the well-known 'Decade of Moons' (Daša-candrāḥ).

- IV. From the Pala race are descended fourteen, viz.:-
- (a) Gopāla; (b) Devapāla; (c) Rāsapāla; (d) Dharmapāla; (e) Mahīpāla; (f) Mahāpāla; (g) Śreṣṭhapāla; (h) Bheyapāla; (i) Neyapāla; (j) Āmrapāla; (k) Hastipāla; (l) Rāmapāla; and (m) Yakṣapāla.
 - V. The following kings stand alone, each by himself:—
- (a) Kaṇiṣka; (b) Lakṣāśva; (c) Candrapāla; (d) Śrīharṣa; (e) Śīla; (f) Udayana; (g) Gauḍavardhana; (h) Kaṇiṣka; (i) Turuṣka; (j) Śākamahāsammata;

- (k) Buddhapakşa;
 (l) Gambhīrapakṣa;
 (m) Cala;
 (n) Caladhruva;
 (o) Viṣṇu;
 (p) Simha;
 (q) Bharṣa;
- (r) Pañcamasimha; (s) Prasanna; (t) Prāditya; (u) Mahāsena; and (v) Mahāśākyabala.
- VI. In the Pala dynasty, the following stand, each by
- (a) Masurakşita; (b) Caṇaka; (c) Śāmupāla; [and] (d) Kṣāntipāla.

VII. The four Senas are :-

(a) Lavasena; (b) Kāśasena; (c) Maņisena; [and] (d) Rathikasena.

VIII. There arose at Kanci and in the other kingdoms of the South:—

- (a) Śukla; (b) Candraśobha; (c) Śālivāhana; (d) Maheśa; (e) Kṣemamkara; (f) Manoratha (g)
- Bhagasubala; (h) Candrasena; (i) Ksemankarasimha;
- (j) Vyāghra; (k) Buddhasuca; (l) Ṣaṇmukha; (m)
- Sāgara; (n) Vikrama; (o) Ujjana; (p) Śrestha; (q) Mahendra; (r) Devarāja; (s) Visva; (t) Śiśu;
- [and] (u) Pratāpa.

IX. In the South arose also the following Brahmanas :-

(a) Balamitra, (b) Nāgaketu; (c) Vardhamāla; (d) Gaggari; (e) Kumārananda; (f) Matikumāra; (g) Bhadrānanda; (h) Dānabhadra; (i) Lankādeva; (j) Bahubhuk; [and] (k) Madhyamati, all of whom are known as the Ancient (Purāṇa) Mahācāryāḥ.

Generally speaking, the disciples of the Victorious One (Buddha) are reckoned to be seven; but if Madhyāntika be added, their number becomes eight. The following are the Arhats called "Protectors of Law" (Dharma-rakṣakāḥ).:—

(a) Uttara,
(b) Yaśah;
(c) Poṣada;
(d) Kaśyapa;
(e) Śānavāsa;
(f) Mahāloma;
(g) Mahātyāga;
(h) Nandin;
(i) Dharmaśreṣṭha;
(j) Pārśvika;
(k) Aśvagupta;
[and]
(l) Nanda.

The Schools of the great Bhadantas (i.e. teachers of the Hīnayāna) are:—

Uttara; (b) Kaśyapa; (c) Sammitiya; (d) Mahīśāsaka: (e) Dharmagupta; (f) Suvarsa; (g) Vātsīputrīya; (h) Tāmraśatīya; (i) Bahuśrutīya; (i)Āvantaka; (k) Jetavanīya; (l) Sthavira; (m) Dharmatrāta; (n) Vasubandhu; (o) Ghosaka; (p) Śrīlābha: Buddhadeva; (r) Kumāralābha; (s) Vāmana; (t) Kunāla; (u) Samkara; (v) Sanghavardhana; [and] (w) Sambhūti.

The great Brāhmaṇas who did much for the Good Doctrine are:—

- (a) Jaya; (b) Sujaya; (c) Kalyāṇa; (d) Siddha; (e) Adarpa; (f) Rāghava; (g) Yaśika; (h) Pāṇini; (i) Kuśala; (j) Bhadra; (k) Vararuci; (l) Kulika; (m) Mudgaragomin; (n) Śaṅkara; (o) Dhārmika; (p) Mahāvīrya; (q) Suviṣṇu; (r) Madhu; (s) Supramadhu; (t) Vararuci, the second; (u) Kāśijāta; (v) Caṇaka; (w) Vasunētra; (x) Śaṅku; (v) Brhaspati; (z) Maksika; (aa) Vasunēga; (bb)
- (y) Bṛhaspati; (z) Makṣika; (aa) Vasunāga; (bb) Bhadrapālita; (cc) Pūrṇa; [and] (dd) Pūrṇabhadra.

From this list the Teachers of the Mahāyāna Doctrine have been omitted, because they are generally very well known. They will, however, be referred to in the course of this history. The 'Six Jewels of Jambudvīpa' are also very famous, the first four of which are the so-called 'Four Great Ones', viz., Sūra, Rāhula, Guṇaprabha [and] Dharmapāla, the remaining two being Śāntideva and Candragomin, both possessed of miraculous powers and praised by the learned. In India the characterisation of these two by the title of 'Pre-eminent Ones' is unknown, this title as well as that of 'Six Jewels' having arisen in Tibet.

The Tantr-ācāryas of Vikramasilā are the following twelve (?—Ed.):—

(a) Jānapāda (?—Ed.); (b) Dīpankarabhadra; (c) Lankājayabhadra; (d) Śrīdhara; (e) Bhāvabhadra; (f) Bhavyakīrti; (g) Līlāvajra; (h) Durjayacandra; (i) Samayavajra; (j) Tathāgatarakṣita; [and] (k) Kamalarakṣita. Then come the six Pandits known as the 'Guardians of the Gate' (Dvārarakṣakāḥ), and other Ācāryas of the Mystic Lore.

If the facts given above be carefully borne in mind, there will be no difficulty in understanding, or interpreting, the historical exposition which follows, inasmuch as all intricacy has been removed therefrom.

As the genealogies of kings who preceded the advent of our Teacher, the perfectly illumined Buddha, can be obtained in a credible form from the Vinayapitaka [and] the Abhinişkramana Sūtra and to some extent from the Lalitavistara in accordance with the respective subject matter of each, it has been thought proper to refrain from drawing upon the works of non-Buddhistic writers for an account of the lines of kings, rsis, etc., who lived in [the] Satya, Tretā, Dvāpara [—Ed.] and Kali ages, however great; their possessing no bearing on the 'History of the Excellent Law' detracts from their utility to a project of such great piety as this work [of ours] is.

As regards the works of their teachers, let it be known that the Mahābhārata contains more than one lakh of ślokas, the Rāmāyaṇa of just one lakh of ślokas, the 18 Purāṇas of many lakhs of ślokas, the Raghuvaṁśa of eighty thousand (?) ślokas, etc. In the present work, we have confined ourselves exclusively to a historical account of such matters as are in some way or other connected with the Doctrine of our Teacher.

i the age of king ajātašatru

When the sayings of the Supremely Enlightened Master were for the first time put together in a collected form, the gods praised the undertaking; in the world of men plenty and prosperity spread everywhere; and gods and men lived in peace. King Virtue-seer (mT'on-lDan-dGe-

ba=?Ksemadarśin), whose other name was Ajātaśatru, increased his merit by his character and, without fighting, brought under his sway the Five Cities with the exception of that of the Vriis (Tibetan-sPonbyed) when Tathagata and the Aiodel (?—Ed.) Pair (Tibetan—mChog-sByor-ba = Skt. Varayojana, i.e. Śārīputra and Maudgalyāyana) together with 168,000 Arhats had gone to their rest and when subsequently Mahākaśyapa also disappeared from existence, all human beings were sorely grieved. The Bhiksus, who had seen the countenance of the Master, simple-minded folks as they were, felt sorry that through their remissness they had not attained distinction in the life-time of [the] Buddha; and they strenuously devoted themselves to the Good Law. Likewise too, those who studied the Noble Doctrine, viz., young Bhiksus who had not seen [the] Buddha's countenance said to themselves: "Not having seen the Master face to face, we shall not be able to preach the Law unless we occupy oursleves with the Doctrine," and, wandering about, they devoted all their energies to the Dharma, so that day by day the number of those who attained the four fruits (viz., of Srotapatti, Sakrdagamin, Anagamin and Arhat) began greatly to increase. And when the Venerable Ananda had delivered from time to time the Doctrine to the four classes of the attendants of [the] Buddha's followers, when those who had mastered the Tripitaka began to preach the Law and all who had entered the Order began to live in retirement. (?—Ed.) The Master entrusted to Mahākaśyapa the duty of teaching, who again handed it down to the most pious Ānanda. Kings and householders,-kings of unfathomable virtue, being seized with a misgiving since [the] Buddha was no longer in their midst, regretting also that formerly they could meet the Master face to face, but that latterly they saw only his disciples and the attendants of these, learnt at last to appreciate the excellence of [the] Buddha, the Law and the Community, showed due

...

reverence to the Three Jewels and devoted themselves to the practice of virtue. There was no contention [in the world] and in this manner forty years are said to have rolled away. Fifteen years after Ananda's assumption of the duty of teaching, a youth named Kanakavarna attained Arhatship. An account of him is given in the Kanakavarnāvadāna. At this time, king Ajātaśatru, seeing that the Venerable Ananda had made Kanakavarna an Arhat without hindrance or difficulty, realised in his mind that the Venerable Änanda was a Buddha-like Śrāvaka, whereupon he placed him over 5,000 Bhiksus whom he supplied with all necessaries for full five years. At that time there came to Magadha from the city of Kimilamala in the south, a great expert in magical arts named Bharadvaja, a descendant from the race of Jambala, who began to challenge the Bhiksus in rddhi (magical power). Before the very eyes of king Ajātasatru and other spectators he conjured up into existence four hillocks which were respectively of Gold, Silver, Crystal and Chrysolite (vaidūrya). On each of these hillocks were four gardens and on each garden four lotus-tanks filled with all sorts of birds. Thereupon the Venerable Ananda too conjured up into existence a large number of wild and untameable elephants who ate up the lotuses and spoilt the tanks. He next called up into existence a violent gust of wind which laid low the trees and also a shower of rain accompanied with thunder which destroyed, without leaving a single trace, all the gardens and hillocks. After this, Ananda showed five-hundred bodily forms, some of which emitted light, others showered rain. others again assumed upon the wind fourfold attitudes [of sitting, lying, standing and walking], while the remaining sent forth fire from the upper part of their bodies, and let flow water from the lower parts. After the phantoms had exhibited these and various other magical performances, they were taken back by Ananda into his own body.

Thereupon Ānanda preached for a week the Law to Bharadvāja, the descendant of Jambāla, and to others who had already embraced the faith, and converted to Truth, Bharadvāja with five hundred Brāhmaṇas and 8,000 men of other castes.

At a subsequent period when the venerable Ānanda was sojourning at Jetavana, the householder Śānavāsika hospitably entertained the members of the Order for full five years, and eventually through the preaching of the Venerable Ānanda he became in course of time a master of the Tripiṭaka and attained complete salvation as soon as he reached the second stage, i.e. of the Sakṛdāgāmin, of Arhatship.

In this manner, after raising to Arhatship sooner or later ten thousand Bhiksus, Ānanda, in order to let both the Licchavis of Vaiśālī and king Ajātasatru have a share of his body-relics, repaired to the Ganges which flows through the lands of both of them, and when 500 Rsis wanted to take ordination, he made an island in the middle of the river. As through his magical power he ordained and raised to Arhatship in a single hour the 500 Bhiksus who had assembled there, these latter came to be known as 'Midday-Men' (Skt. Madhyāhnikāḥ) or 'Mid-Water-Men' (Skt. Madhyāntikāḥ).

The most prominent of these is known as the 'Great Midday-Man' (Mahāmadhyāhnika) or the 'Great Mid-Water-Man' (Mahāmadhyāntika). When Ānanda departed from this life, his corpse was consumed by a fire which arose of itself and his ashes, like a ball of precious stone, fell into five separate heaps, each of which the waves carried to either banks.

The heap which was carried to the northern bank was taken possession of by the inhabitants of Vaiśālī, [and] that which was carried to the southern, by Ajātaśatru. In both the countries Stūpas were raised over the ashes.

Thus Ananda discharged a teacher's function for forty

years. Ajātaśatru also died a year after his death and was forthwith reborn in hell; but when his existence in hell came to an end, he was again born among gods and after hearing the Good Law preached in the house of Śānavāsika he attained the stage of srotāpanna.

II. EVENTS OF THE AGE OF KING SUDHANU (SUBĀHU?—Ed.)

Ajātaśatru's son Subāhu reigned for ten years. He respected the Doctrine of [the] Buddha. When the Venerable Śanavasika held for a brief period the position of Teacher, the Venerable Madhyantika was sojourning at Benares where he preached the Law to the four classes of attendants and to Brahmanas and householders. At another time the Brahmanas and householders of Benares took objection to the crowd of begging Bhikşus and rebuked them, saying, "Is there no other place for begging alms? Are there no cities as prosperous as Benares? While we are compelled to feed and clothe you, you do not make the slightest return unto us." When they spoke these words forth flew the Venerable Madhyantika accompanied by ten thousand Arhats through the air to Mt. Usira which is situated in the north. There a householder named Aja assembled the monks of the four countries and entertained them for a whole year, so that there were together in one and the same place 44,000. This circumstance contributed to the spread of the Doctrine chiefly in the North. Thus the Venerable Madhyantika preached the Law for three years on Mt. Usīra. At that time Śānavāsika was sojourning at Śrāvasti, and, as he preached the Law to the four classes of attendants, there arose nearly one thousand Arhats.

At an earlier period there lived in the reign of king Ajātasatru two men belonging to the Brāhmanical caste ignorant of the Law, bold, bad men, who ignored the difference between lawful and unlawful food, and killed many living creatures. Their names were Pana and Napa.

In consequence of thefts committed by them in a number of houses, king Ajātaśatru ordered their hands to be cut off, whereat they were very angry. They gave mid-day meal to many an Arhat and, in return for this virtuous act, desired to become Yaksas in order to be able to destroy the king and the inhabitants of Magadha. After some time both were seized with an epidemic, died and were reborn as Yaksas. About (After ?-Ed.) seven or eight years, when king Subadhu (Subāhu?-Ed.) was on the throne of Magadha, these two were appointed by him to the post of Yakşas and they sent forth upon the country a terrible plague. Men and cattle died in large numbers and the epidemic could not be checked. The astrologers being apprised of the occurrence, the inhabitants of Magadha on their advice invited the Venerable Śanavasika over from Śrāvasti and entreated him to chain the Yaksas. Sanavasika went forth, accordingly, to Mt. Gurva where the Yakşas had their dwelling and entered their cave. But these, in the meanwhile, had gone to the abodes of other Yakşas, whence they were called back to their dwelling by another Yaksa. On their return home, they became very angry and began to hurl about the rocks of the cavern whereupon there arose another cavern in which they saw the Venerable Sanavasika duly seated. When this happened three times, the two Yakşas created a conflagration, which was answered by the Arhat's creating counter-conflagration of a more terrible form which spread over the ten directions. Thereupon the Yaksas were frightened and were forced to flee. As the whole country was on fire, they found no place of refuge and were forced to seek protection from Sanavasika, whereat the conflagration ceased. Then, when they heard the Doctrine, they became filled with great piety, took refuge with the Three Jewels and were initiated into the Dogmas. Immediately after that the epidemic came to a stop. This display of magical power was witnessed by a thousand Brāhmanas and householders.

IV

Girnar Inscription of the Reign of Mahaksatrapa Rudradaman

The results, obtained from the examination of Harisena's prasasti, point to the provisional supposition that the kavya literature was in bloom, at least in the whole of the fourth century, and the works, composed at that time, do not essentially differ from the samples of Vaidarbhī rīti preserved for us. Beyond this, we cannot go with the help of the Gupta inscriptions known to us up to this time. It, therefore, becomes necessary to consider the only great Sanskrit inscription, which can, with certainty, be placed in a considerably earlier age. It is Rudradaman's inscription on the well-known rock on the way from Junagarh-Girinagara to the present Girnar, a holy mountain known as Urjayat or Ujjayanta in earlier times. This inscription would be more properly called 'the prasasti of the restoration of the Sudarsana lake, during the reign of Mahāksatrapa Rudradāman.' Its age is pretty certainly fixed, in the first place, by the name of the king and Ksatrapa* Castana, who is spoken of as Rudradaman's grandfather, and in the second place, by the date of the storm which shattered down the embankment of the Sudarsana lake. is no doubt rightly identified with king Tiastanes who, as Ptolemy informs us, ruled in Ozéné or Ujjayini. name quite corresponds with the Indian name, not merely on the ground of other similar cases which occur and in which the Indian palatal sounds are represented by the Greek dentals with ia following, but because even the Indian pronunciation of the palatals varies between that and tya as well as between dza and dya, and we frequently hear of

^{* [}Mahākṣatrapa.—D.C.S]

¹ Cf. Tiatoura=Citoda and Diamouna=Jamuna (Yamuna).

tya and dya as combinations with the sibilants.2 possibility that Ptolemy could have meant any other Castana than that of our inscription must be regarded as out of question, because the name occurs in no other dynasty, and even amongst the Western Kşatrapas, it is only the grandfather of Rudradaman, who is so named. Thus, if we accept this identification of names and persons, it follows that Castana must have reigned before 150 A.D. and further that his grandson Rudradaman can, in no case, be placed later than in the first half of the third century, probably even earlier. The settling of the date becomes even more accurate through the fact that the fixing of the beginning of the Gupta era in the year 318 or 319 makes quite probable the view already maintained by Bhagvanlal, Bhau Daji, Bhandarkar and others, according to which the date of the inscription in question, i.e. the year 72, refers to the Saka era and thus corresponds to our year 151 A.D. date is the first of a long series, which continues down to the year 310. Inscriptions⁸ provide the following dates-103 for Rudradāman's son Rudrasimha. Rudrasimha's son Rudrasena, and 252 for Svāmī Rudrasena,

² See the remarks on the reverse of the table of letters in my Guide to the Elementary Course of Sanskrit. I shall, in another place, furnish proof that the modern pronunciation of the Indian palatals is very old

³ The three dated inscriptions are—that on the rock of Gunda (Ind. Ant., Vol. X, p. 157), that on the pillar of Jasdan (Journ. Bomb Br. Roy. As. Soc., Vol. VIII, pp 234 ff.), in which, according to an impression of Dhruva's, the date is to be read as [tri]yuttaraśate 100(+) 3, and one unpublished inscription on a pillar in Okhāmanḍal, of which I possess a sketch and a photograph. The view that the era used by the Western Kṣatrapas is the Ṣaka era, is found at first in Journ. Bomb. Br. Roy. As. Soc., Vol VIII, pp. 243 ff, and is further developed in Bhanḍārkar's Early History of the Dekkan, pp. 19 ff. See also Journ Roy. As. Soc., N.S., 1890, pp. 639 ff. I opposed the same in Arch. Surv. West. Ind, Vol. V, p. 73, when I believed that the beginning of the Gupta era fell in the second century AD.

while on the numerous coins are frequently represented almost all the decades between 100 and 310. During this long period, the successors of Castana appear to have maintained their sovereignty over Western India, except for a short interruption and to have been in possession of Mālwā as well as the neighbouring provinces of Gujarat and There is nothing in the inscriptions before Kāthiāwār. us, that would admit the conclusion that their capital was ever removed from Ujjain further westwards. On the other hand, our inscription shows quite clearly that the residence of the prince lay outside of Gujarāt and Kāthiāwār, as his officer Suviśākha, according to line 18, was governor of Ānarta⁴ and Surāstra. The successors of the Ksatrapas, in the sovereignty over Mālwā and the whole of Western India, were the Guptas, whose conquest of the former province falls before or in the Gupta year 82, i.e. 400-01 or 401-02 A.D., as is shown by Fleet's No. 3. Accordingly, it is to be expected that the last date of the Ksatrapas coming from Castana's race cannot lie far removed from the Gupta year 82. And this is actually the case, if the year 310 on the Kşatrapa coins is interpreted as a year of the Saka era. Then it corresponds to the year 388 or 389 A.D., and is removed only by eleven years from the year in which the conquest of Mālwā could have taken place at the latest. Though this very consideration is enough to commend the identification of the era, used by the Kşatrapas, with that of the Saka kings, there are still many other reasons of no less importance, which would confirm the same. of Caștana are Rājan, Ksatrapa or Mahāksatrapa, and Svāmin. The word Ksatrapa is no doubt, as was long ago asserted, an adaptation of the Persian Kshatrapa, "Satrap'.

⁴ Ānarta included Northern Kāthiāwār and Northern Gujarāt up to the Mahī.

^{5 [}Old Persian Khshathrapāvan.-D.C.S.]

Because, although we can look upon the term as a pure Sanskrit word and translate it as 'the protector of Ksatriyas', still such a title is entirely unknown to Sanskrit literature. Ksatrapa and its Prakrit substitute chatrapa or khatrapa occur, in the first place, in the coins and inscriptions of barbarous kings and their governors, who ruled over North-Western India.6 Even Castana as well as his father, the Mahākṣatrapa Ysamotika,7 were foreigners, and there is no reason why we should believe that the title was fixed upon them in a different sense. If Castana bears the title of Rājan also, well, it might have been conferred upon him only as a mark of distinction for some special service. In a similar manner, the vassals styled Samanta or Mahasamanta as well as other high dignitaries received the title Mahārāja8 in the fifth, sixth and later centuries. Castana's suzerain could have been just one of the Indo-Scythian kings whose might had overshadowed the whole of North-Western and Western India, towards the close of the first century and in the second century, as is shown by the inscriptions and the accounts of the Greeks: and a still clearer proof of his connection with the North-West is provided by his coins, wherein his name is given in the Bactro-Pali or rather Kharoştrio alphabet which is written from right to left. It is very probable that the descendants and immediate successors of Castana bore the same relation to the rulers of

⁶ Notice specially the copper-plate on which Chatrapa Liaka Kusuluka appears by the side of the king Moga. In this case, it is quite clear that Liaka was the Satrap of Moga.

⁷ See Journ Bomb. Br. Roy As Soc, Vol VIII, p 3. A very nicely preserved coin on which this name is very clearly readable, was shown to me, some years ago, by Burgess Bhagvanlal reads the name as Ghsamotika. [Ghsamotika was never a Mahākşatrapa.—D C.S]

⁸ See Fleet, Corp. Inscr. Ind., Vol. III, p. 15, note

⁹ See Terrien de la Conperie, Babylonian Record, Vol. I, p 60 Bhagvānlāi (Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII, p. 258) has rightly recognized the historical significance of the use of this alphabet on Castana's coins.

the Indo-Scythian kingdom as long as it was in existence. As for Rudradaman, in particular, I see a clear confession of his dependence in the expression (line 15) svayam-adhigata-Mahāksatrapa-sabdena, 10 'by [Rudradāman] who had himself won the title Mahāksatrapa'. According to my view, 11 the author means to say that Rudradaman did not inherit the title Mahāksatrapa from his father or grandfather (although they possessed it), but that he had to win it by means of his special services and that he received it from his suzerain. To this interpretation, I am specially led by the meaning of the very analogous phrase, samadhigatapañcamahāśabda, 'he who has won the five mahāśabdas (i.e., either five great titles, or the right to have the royal music-band to play)', which is used in a very large number of inscriptions of Samantas or vassal chiefs. Moreover, even supposing that Rudradaman had made himself independent and had himself taken a title, it appears to me improbable that he should have chosen the title Mahāksatrapa. In that case, he would have certainly named himself Mahārāja, Rājarāja, Rājātirāja, or Rājādhirāja, as the independent kings of the first and second centuries always did. Thus Castana, in all probability was a dependent of some Indo-Scythian king, and it is, therefore, not possible that he should have founded a new era. He must have used the era of his suzerain, and the same must be supposed in connection with his grandson. If then, as I believe it must be assumed, this latter also bore the same relation to the Indo-Scythians, there can be no doubt regarding the interpretation of the date of the Girnar prašasti.

According to this calculation, then, the destruction of the Sudarsana lake by the storm mentioned in our inscription

^{10 [}Read nāmnā for śabdena-D.C.S]

¹¹ Bhagvānlāl thinks otherwise. According to him, the idea is that Rudradāman freed himself from the yoke of a suzerain.

falls in the year 150 or 151 A.D. The inscription itself, however, must have been written yet later, sometime towards the end of the first century of the Saka era, i.e. between 160 and 170 A.D., because it is said in lines 17-18 that the restoration of the dam was attended with great difficulties. Thus it is most conclusively proved that even during the second half of the second century, there was in existence a kāvya literature. Although a colophon which might have given us the exact character of the composition is wanting, still it can be easily seen that it contains a gadya-kāvya as such. Its style is similar to that of the prose part of Harisena's kavya in many respects and, besides the use of alankaras, there is an obvious effort on the part of the poet, to satisfy all the requirements prescribed for prose composition by poetics. At the same time, however, it cannot be denied that its worth is very considerably less than that of the Allahabad prasasti, and that its author did not by far possess the imagination and talent of Harisena. The language itself which is, indeed, generally speaking, flowing and good shows several deviations from the usage of Classical poets and even presents some actual mistakes. Thus in ...no ā garbhāt (line 9) there is a wrong sandhi made. Among other offences against the rules of orthography prescribed by grammar are the frequent omission of c before ch and the use of the anusvara for \tilde{n} and n in the body of words, as well as for m at the end, 12 though both these, it is true, are sanctioned by usage. Further, there is seen the influence of Prakrit in the word vīśaduttarāni (line 7) which stands for viniśad-uttarāni. Even

¹² The frequent avoidance of a *sandhi* is not incorrect, because, according to a well-known $K\bar{a}rik\bar{a}$, the *sandhi* depends upon $vivak\bar{s}\bar{a}$, i.e., it is to be made only if the words actually belong together. In the prose inscriptions, *sandhi* is usually not made where we would have a comma or a semi-colon.

the form vimsat used only on the analogy of trimsat, etc., is not Classical, but belongs to the language of the epics and the Puranas as is shown by the quotations in the Petersburg Lexicon. If the long syllables in nirvyājam = avajīty = āvajītya which are against rule, are not mere mistake in writing of the stone-engraver, -although in the case of ragena for ragena no other assumption is possible,—then they must be regarded as only instances of Prakrit influence. Because the Prakrit dialects frequently represent nih by ni or ni, and the Gujarātī jūt, 'conquest', and jūtavum, 'to conquer', agree with the long syllable in avajitya. So also, the instrumental patinā in line 11 is formed against Pānini's rules, though it is in agreement with the usage of the Vedic and epic language. There is also a mistake of syntax in anyatra sangramesu (line 10), 'except in battles', which ought to be anyatra sangrame-So also the form pryatyākhyāt-ārambham (line 17) would be a worse mistake of syntax, as I believe in all probability it cannot be regarded as an error in writing for pratyākhyāt-ārambhe. Last of all, the phrase parjanyena ekārņava-bhūtāyām - iva pṛthivyām kṛtāyām (line 5) is a hard nut to crack. No full-fledged Classical poet has taken the liberty in this way. On the other hand, a similar phrase is more frequently met with in the epics. 18 The many points of similarity with the epics, which the language of the Girnār prasasti exhibits, could have led to the supposition that the author had cultivated himself exclusively by the reading of epics and that a kāvya proper was not at all known to him. But such a supposition is contradicted, first of all, by the general impression, which his composition makes. Whoever reads it attentively would feel that, in the matter of development of the style, it shows a stage considerably in advance of the epics. Further the supposition is contradicted

¹³ Cf for instance, Nala, XII. 28—ketubhūtam=iv=otthitam, under bhūta in the Petersburg Lexicon.

by several particulars leading to a similar conclusion, especially the important passage in line 14, wherein the author enumerates the attributes of a good composition, prevalent in his time.

As for the points of affinity with the kāvya style proper, which this prasasti exhibits, it is to be first of all noticed that the author knew very well the canons laid down by Dandin as common to all schools, according to which ojas or samāsabhūyastva, the frequency and length of compounds, is the principal feature of a prose composition. In the prasasti also, the compounds occur more frequently than single words, and the compounds themselves often exhibit a conspicuous length. Thus in the very first line, there is a broken compound which consists of nine words with twentythree letters. Such compounds and others extending over between ten and twenty letters are numerous. Once in the description of the king (line 11) the author goes to the extreme of having a compound word which comprises seventeen words with forty letters. As compared with Harisena's performance, that of the Gujarātī author is by all means a modest one, though the latter far surpasses what the epic poets have been capable of doing or have regarded as permissible. As with Harisena, a rhythmical arrangement of letters in the longer compounds is often noticeable, as for instance, in lines 6 and 9 ff. Hand in hand with the length and number of compounds, goes the length of the sentences. The brasasti apparently contains only five sentences with forty-nine grantha, of which the fourth sentence alone consists of more than twenty-three grantha. Harisena surpasses the Gujarātī writer in this point also, and this is an important point, because his whole kāvya, though longer in extent, contains only one sentence. Of the Sabdālankāras, we have only the Anuprasa, and the repetitions of parts of words, more seldom of whole words, as well as of single letters

producing a similar sound, are very frequently met with. The specially remarkable instances are—

gurubhir = abhyasta-nāmno Rudradāmno (line 4), sṛṣṭa-vṛṣṭinā (line 5), °prabhṛṭinām nadīnām (line 6), °praharaṇa-vitaraṇa° (line 10), °prakṛṭīnām° Niṣād-ādīnām (line 11), ° kāma-viṣayāṇām viṣayāṇām (loc. cit.), °vidheyānām Yaudheyānām (line 12), °hast-occhray-ārjit-orjita° (line 13), nyāy-ādyānām vidyānām (loc. cit.), pāraṇa-dhāraṇa (loc. cit.), dāna-mān-āvamāna (loc. cit.), gadya-padya (line 14), pramāṇa-mān-onmān-o° (loc. cit.), °nāmnā °dāmnā °Rudradāmnā (line 15), paura-jānapadam janam (line 16), paura-jānapada-jan-ā° (line 18), āryeṇ = āhāryeṇa (line 19).

The Varn-anuprasas, which do not strike us at first sight, but which are, nevertheless, not less characteristic, are specially in giri-śikhara-taru-tat-āttālak-opatalpa-dvāra-śarannumerous occhraya-vidhvamsinā (line 6), where the repetitions of consonants and vowels are linked together very skilfully. it is quite evident that the author took great troubles with these word-ornaments and attached great importance to them. His use of these far surpasses what the epic lilerature can present, and stands pretty on a level with what we have The word yathartha-hast-occhray-arjit-orjitain Harisena. dharm-ānurāgena (lines 12-13) is just exactly in the kāvya style, for the compound arjit-orjita is very much favoured by the later court poets. As for the Arth-ālankāras, our author uses them but very rarely. Thus there are only two Upamās to be noted. In line 1-2, it is said that the lake or rather the embankment thereof is parvvata-pratisparddhi,14 'resembling the spur of a mountain', and, in line 8, the dried-up lake is spoken of as maru-dhanva-kalpam, 'resembling a sandy desert.' In the former instance, the expression pratisparddhi is quite characteristic of the kāvya style. We have an Utpreksa in the already mentioned passage, parjanyena

^{14 [}Parvata-pāda-pratispardhi (lines 1-2) —D C S.]

ekārņava-bhūtāyām = iva prthivyām krtāyām and a faint attempt at Slesa in line 8, where it is said that the lake had become atibhrsam durdda[rsanam]. For the rest, the author neglects the numerous opportunities which are offered to him, for instance, in the description of effect of a representation of facts marked with strong outlines, than on the conglomeration of more or less conventional figures of sense. must be conceded that he succeeds quite well in individual descriptions, though he fails in the fineness of execution and the elaboration of details, which are found to be present in Harisena. The passage in lines 3-7 describing the destruction of the lake, reads best notwithstanding many important lacunae. Freely rendered, the passage would read thus-

'In the year seventy-two 72 [in the reign] of the king and Great Satrap Rudradaman whose name is uttered by the worthy [praying for purity]—the son [of the king, and Great Satrap,* Lord Jayadaman] the grandson of the king and Great Satrap, Lord Castana-the mention of whose name brings purity—on the [fifth or fifteenth]15 day of the dark half of the month Margasirsa......a storm with great streaming showers, as it were, reduced the earth to one single ocean, the terribly augmented force of the Suvarņasikatā, the Palasinī and other rivers of the mountain Urjayat broke through the dam..... although proper remedial measures were taken, the water agitated by the whirlwind which [raged] with fearful violence as if at the end of the world-age, and which shattered down mountain-peaks, trees, rocks, terraces, temple-turrets, gates, abodes and triumphal columns, the water scattered about and tore to pieces [the.....and]

^{* [}Jayadaman was a Satrap and not a 'Great Satrap' - D.C.S]

15 [First.-D C.S.]

this [lake] [crammed] with stones, trees, bushes and circles of creepers that were thrown down, was broken up down to the bottom of the stream.'

The small number of Arth-ālankāras is richly counterbalanced by the fourth word in line 14, which praises in all probability Rudradaman's skill in poesy, and contains, without question, the views of the author regarding the requirements of a good composition. Unfortunately, the word is mutilated. After sphuta-laghu-madhura-citra kantaśabda-samay-odār-ālankrta-gadya-padya eight letters have been obliterated, followed by na. The last letter shows that the expression ended with the instrumental of an a-stem. Immediately after gadya-padya only the word kāvya can come, as it is absolutely necessary to complete the two expressions gadya and padya. The remaining six letters should then have been a phrase like vidhana-pravine, racana-kusale, racananirate or like [a]svadana-nirate. Now if we consider what is said of Rudradaman in line 13, viz., that he had acquired greater renown by the complete study, the preservation, the thorough understanding, and the skill in the use, of the great lores, such as grammar, politics, music and logic, we must go in for one of the first series of expressions proposed. Because, the practising of classical poetry is the natural complement of the cultivation of the abstruse sastras in the case of the Pandit, and both these have been very frequently extolled as the qualifications of Indian kings. These considerations make it quite probable that the compound in question, when completed, should stand as sphuţa-laghu-madhura - citra - kanta - sabda - samayo-dar -alankrtagadya-padya-[kāvya-vidhāna-pravīne]na. Now, if we take the author on his word, and suppose that he is stating only facts, nothing more nor less, then it would follow that Rudradāman must have devoted himself to the cultivation of court poetry like Samudragupta and Harsavardhana. Then the passage in question would further prove that

the kāvya literature, in the second century, had been developed to such an extent that even the grandson of a foreign Satrap like Castana could not escape its influence. On the other hand, if it is thought more advisable to understand the expressions of praise in the prafasti, with a qualification, and to think that these expressions, regardless of actual facts, only concern themselves with representing Rudradāman as an ideal Indian prince—as the poet's fancy was pleased to depict, even then we would be justified in drawing this conclusion, at least, that during the second century it was the custom at Indian courts to occupy oneself with kāvva. Even this result in itself is of no little significance inasmuch as it proves that the invasion of the Scythians and other foreign races had extinguished the national art as little as the sciences. Further as regards the characteristics which the prasasti prescribes for gadyapadya, 'the compositions in prose and metrical form', it is to be noted that they essentially agree with those which are given by Dandin for the Vaidarbhī rīti, in accordance with an old tradition. 16 In the Kāvyādarša, I. 41-42, we have—

> Ślosah prasādah samatā mādhuryam sukumāratā | arthavyaktir = udāratvam = ojah-kānti-samādhayah || iti Vaidarbha-mārgasya prānā daša guṇāh smṛtāh ||

Of these ten fundamental attributes of the Vaidarbhī style, the prasasti names three, viz., mādhurya, kānti and udāratva, and there is no reason why the madhura and kānta of the inscription should be interpreted otherwise than as rasavat, 'full of sentiment', and sarva-jagat-kānta, 'pleasing to the whole world' or 'lovely', respectively. On the

¹⁶ The same are mentioned in Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra, Ch. XVI—
ślesah prasādah samatā samādhir=
mādhuryam=ojaḥ pada-saukumāryam |
arthasya ca vyaktir=udāratā ca
kānttś=ca kāvyasya gunā daś=aite |

other hand, the word udara, 'elevated, grand', can scarcely have the meaning which Dandin attributes to it, in the Kāvyādarša, I. 76.17 The preceding šabda-samaya specially enters into compound with udara at any rate, and the expression sabda-samay-odara cannot but be translated as 'grand through the conventional (i.e. with the poets) use of words'.18 Accordingly, our author, following those who are referred to by Dandin, as kecit (Kavy., I. 79), means by udara, that the language in which are used proverbial words and attributes commended by poets, e.g., krīdā-sarah, līl-āmbuja and similar words. A fourth characteristic mentioned by Dandin, the arthavyakti, 'clearness of meaning', can be easily recognised in the synonymous expression sphuta of the inscription. A fifth characteristic ojas, 'the force of expression', may probably be meant by the adjective citra, 'wonderful, exciting wonder.' In favour of this, we can quote Bharata's definition (Chap. XVI)-

samāsavadbhir = vividhair = vicitrais = ca padair = yutam | sātu(dhu)-svarair = udārais = ca tad = ojah parikīrtyate ||

Even in the epithet laghu which is wrongly rendered by the translators as 'short', we may find hidden a reference to the sixth attribute of the Vaidarbha style. Laghu here, no doubt, means 'beautiful, pleasing', and it very possibly stands for prasāda or sukumāratā, both of which are conducive to loveliness of composition. The last adjective, alankīta, leaves no doubt about the fact that the author of the

¹⁷ Utkarşavān gunah kaścid=yasminn=ukte pratīyate i tad=udār-āhvayam.......

¹⁸ Bhagvānlāl's translation, 'remarkable for grammatical correctness', is not right for several reasons 'Grammatical correctness' would be \$abda-\$uddhatva, and this quality does not make a composition udāra. Besides, the king's ability to write correctly is mentioned in line 13. I explain \$abda-samay-odāra thus: \$abdeşu \$abda-vişaye yaḥ kavīnām samayaḥ sanketa ācāro vā tena udāram.

praissti was acquainted with some theory of the Alankāras. In accordance with the proposed filling up of the lacunae and the explanations offered so far, the whole clause may be thus rendered—

'[by the king and Great Satrap Rudradāman] who [was expert in the composition of] prose and metrical kāvyas, which are easily intelligible, charming, full of sentiment, capable of awakening wonder, lovely, noble with the conventional use of words, embellished [with the prescribed figures of speech].' Thus, whatever we may say about Rudradāman busying himself with poesy—a fact which is very probable, though of course we cannot be absolutely sure about it—so much is certain that the author of our prasasti lays on poets conditions very similar to those prescribed by Dandin, that in the second century there must have been already in existence romances and other works in high prose as well as compositions not preserved to us, and that there also existed an Alankāra-sāstra.

V

Nāsik Inscription No. 18, dated in the Nineteenth Regnal Year of Śrī-Pulumāyi

A further contribution to the knowledge of the kānya style of the second century and especially of the poetic ideas and comparisons in vogue at the time is made by the prasasti of a cave which was given over to the monks of the Bhadrāyanīya school in the nineteenth year of the reign of the Andhra king Śrī-Pulumāyi. The date of the inscription can be only approximately determined at present. Nevertheless it must be somewhat older than the Girnār prasasti discussed above. Śrī-Pulumāyi, like Castana, is, as we know, mentioned by Ptolemy, under the name of Siro-Polemaios or Siri-Polemios, as the ruler of Baithana, i.e., Paiţṭhāna or

Pratisthana on the Godavari river. Accordingly, the inscription in question will have to be placed somewhere about the middle of the second century. To the same result leads another circumstance which is put forth by Bhāu Dāji in Journ. Bomb. Roy. As. Soc., Vol. VIII, p. 242. According to line 6 of our inscription, Pulumāyi's father Gautamīputra Śātakarni extinguished the family Khakharata. In the inscriptions at Nasik, Junnar and Karle is mentioned a Ksaharāta king and Satrap or Great Satrap Nahapāna, whose son-in-law, the Śaka Usavadāta or Usabhadāta was a great patron of the Brāhmaņas and Buddhists and made many grants in the Western Deccan as well as in the Konkan and Kathiawar, and we are provided with several dates of his reign, from the year 40 to 46. The similarity of the names Khakharāta and Ksaharāta makes it very probable that they denote one and the same person, a supposition which is also favoured by the circumstance that just the very districts, in which Uşavadāta made his grants, have been mentioned in lines 2f. of our inscription as parts of Śātakarņi's dominions.2 The title Satrap or Great Satrap borne by Nahapana leads to the further conclusion that he was a dependent prince and the fact that, on his coins, the Kharostri-lipi is used side by side with the southern alphabet, proves his connection with the north-west where the Indo-Scythians were rulers. We may, therefore, suppose that he, like Rudradaman, used the Saka era, and thus his last date, Samvat 46, would correspond to 124-25 A.D. Very probably his unfortunate

¹ Archaeological Survey of Western India, Vol. IV, pp. 99-103 (Nos 5-11).

² See especially Inscription No. 20, in which a village given as a present by Usabhadāta is again given away by an Andhra king. Cf. Arch. Sur. W. Ind., Vol. IV, p. 106 (No. 6) and pp. 112-113 (No. 120)

war with Sätakarni took place soon after this year. According to his inscriptions, satakarni ruled for at least 24 years, and extinguished the Kşaharāta king and Satrap before the eighteenth year of his reign. For, the Nasik inscription No. 13, bearing this year, disposes of a village in the district of Govardhana,4 which had in earlier times belonged to the dominions of Nahapana. If then we assume that the battle between Nahapāna and Śātakarni took place in the year 47 of the Saka era used by the former. i.e., in 125-26 A.D., and in the fifteenth year of the reign of the latter, then the year of the writing of our inscription would be 153-54 A.D., by adding the 9 years of Satakarni and the 19 years of Pulumayi to 125. Of course, it is possible that the date in question may be from ten to twelve years earlier or very few years later even. A later date than this does not seem to be probable, because the mention of Pulumāyi's name by Ptolemy shows that he must have been on the throne a long time before 151 A.D., the date of the completion of the Geography.5

If we accept these conjectures which at least possess a very high probability, then our inscription is about twenty years older than the *prasasti* of the Sudarsana lake; and its style must be regarded as a proof for the growth of $k\bar{a}vya$ in the middle of the second century. Although it is composed in an old Prakrit very much nearer to Pāli,

³ Arch. Sur. W. Ind., Vol. IV, p. 106 (No. 14, last line).

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 105, where 14 is to be corrected to 18 [See *Sel. Ins.*, Vol I, 1965, p. 198.—D.C.S.]

⁵ Cf. also Bhandārkar's remarks in his Early History of the Dekkan. pp. 20 ff., where the date of the inscription is placed somewhat earlier In several particulars, I cannot agree with Bhandārkar. [Gautamīputra Ṣātakarni occupied the Nasik-Poona region from Usabhadāta about the 18th year of his reign, which roughly corresponded to the latest known date of Nahapāna, i.e. year 46=124 A.D.—D.C.S.]

still the results that may follow from its examination would of course be equally applicable to Sanskrit poetry, as there exists no separating barrier between Prakrit and Sanskrit kāvyas. As far as the information provided by the Alankāra-sāstra goes, both Sanskrit and Prakrit compositions are regarded as branches of a common stem and are both bound by the same laws. Accordingly, we find that all the known Prakrit kāvyas are composed in obedience to the same canons as are those written in Sanskrit. present the same varieties of style and the same types and the same alankāras, and it happens not seldom that one and the same author uses both Prakrit and Sanskrit. Even the author of our inscription must have known Sanskrit and been expert in Sanskrit kāvya also, because he appears to be guilty of some Sanskriticisms. The compound Vijhachavanta (line 2) appears to be but a transliteration of the Sanskrit Vindhyarksavat, since the Greek from Ouzegios shews that the Prakrit name of the Rksavat began with u.* Another apparently Sanskrit sandhi is found in Kesavājuna (line 8), where the rule of the Prakrit demands Kesav-ajuna, i.e., Kesavajjuna.6 So also the form pitupatiyo (line 11) occurring in a writing of such a late date, must be looked upon as only an archaic imitation of pitspatnyoh. As far as I know, this is the only instance of a genitive in the dual number, which has been entirely lost even in older Prakrit literature. It is even possible that the inscription might have been at first composed in Sanskrit and then translated or transliterated, as the Prakrit, which resembled Pali, was then, as even in much later times, the official language in Southern India.8 Whatever may be the case, so much is

^{* [}Acchavanta for Rksavat is quite correct.—D C.S.]

^{6 [}Another form of Ajjuna seems to be Ajuna.—D.C.S.]

^{7 [}The rendering is doubtful.—D.C.S.]

⁸ See on this my remarks on the Prakrit Pallava land grant in the Epigraphia Indica, [Vol. I—D C.S], pp. 4 f.

certain that the author was acquainted with the Sanskrit language as well as the Sanskrit literature.

His work is a gadya-kāvya like the Girnār inscription discussed above and belongs to the class of prasastis. After the date given in quite an official manner, there follows the description of the king of kings Gautamiputra Śātakarni written in a high poetic style, which together with the shorter praise of his mother Gautami Balaśri and of the cave prepared by her, in all, covers eight lines and a half, and altogether makes a gigantic sentence. Then there come at the end two short sentences which say that the queen gave away the cave to the Bhadrayaniya monks and that her grandson Pulumavi assigned the village Piśacipadraka for the preservation of the sculpture and pictures. In these concluding sentences, the language is quite business-like; but even there we find the use of some figures on a small scale. In the first of these, the mother is described by means of three epithets giving rise to alliteration, Mahādevī Mahārāja-mātā Mahārāja-pitāmahī; in the second, the king is spoken of not by name, but as Mahādeviya ajjakāya sevākāmo piyakāmo na[tā Sakaladakhinā]pathesaro, the grandson ever willing to serve and please the queen the grand-mother, the lord of the whole of the Deccan.' Thus even here the author does not forget his profession altogether.

As for the first and the main part of the pralasti, its style entirely resembles that of the Girnār prasasti in that long compounds are used to bring out ojas or the force of language. These run on almost exclusively from line 2, to line 6; then in line 7, the almost breathless reader is favoured with a resting pause, inasmuch as only short words are used. In the last line and a half of the

^{9 [}Na[tā Pulumāyi Dakhiṇa]pathesaro.—DC.S]

description of the king, the poet again takes a new leaf and uses towards the end the longest compound which contains sixteen words with forty-three letters (Pavana-Garula, etc.). The Anuprāsa is more liberally used, as is the case with the Girnar prasasti. Thus we have in line 2 Asika-Asaka, in line 3 pavata-patisa, divasakara-kara, kamala-vimala, in the last parts of the compound in lines 3-4 sāsanasa, vadanasa, vāhanasa, dasanasa, and many more similar expressions. In one point, however, the Nasik inscription differs from the Girnar prasasti. While the latter disdains the use of the conventional similes of court poets, these are found in our prasasti in a very large number and are sometimes very striking too. Just the very first epithet of the king Himavata-Meru-Madara-pavata-sama-sarasa, 'whose essence resembles that of the mountains Himavat, Meru and Mandara', is conceived quite in the kāvya style. Thus the author shows that comparisons of the king with these mountains, so favourite in later times, were in vogue even in his day. What he, in reality, means by the phrase in question is that Śātakarni was possessed of great treasures, like the Himālaya, that he was the central point of the world, and overshadowed the same with his height, like the Meru, and that like the Mandara which was used as a rod by the gods at the time of churning out nectar, he knew how to bring to light and to acquire for himself Laksmi, the Fortuna regum.

The correctness of this explanation can be easily demonstrated. For, the idea that the Himālaya hides within himself immeasurable treasures has been prevalent amongst the Indian people since a very old time, and it finds its expression in mythology, in that the abode of Kubera is located in the Himālaya. To the court poets the idea that riches are the sāra of the Himālaya is so obvious that at times they do not express it at all, but

only hint at the same. But Kālidāsa says in the Raghuvamsa, IV. 78—

paraspareņa vijāātas = tes = ūpāyana-pānisu | rājāā Himavatah sāro rājāah sārah Himādriņā ||

'As the [Ganas came] with presents in their hands, they understood each other's essence; the king, that of the Himālaya (i.e., his riches) and the Himālaya that of the king (i.e., his might).'

Equally old and generally prevalent is the conception that the mountain Meru is the centre of the world; and kings are very frequently compared with the same, in kāvyas, in order to illustrate their great might. Thus, in the beginning of the Kādambarī, Bāṇa says (Peterson's ed., p. 5, line 11) of king Sūdraka—

Merur = iva sakala-bhuvan-opajīvyamāna-pāda-cchāyah,

'He resembles Meru in that all the worlds live in the shadow of his feet,' i.e., are preserved through his protection, just as they live in the shadow of the spur of the mountain. The comparison is also found in the inscriptions, e.g., in the praiasti which forms a prelude to the grant of land made by the Caulukya king Mūlarāja I. It is said there 10 (line 3): Merur = iva sarvadā madhyasthah, 'He resembles Meru, in that he is always madhyastha, i.e., the the centre of the world, and impartial.'

As for the mountain Mandara, it is one the most well- sknown myths, according to which it served the gods as a churning-rod, at the churning of the milk-ocean. As on

¹⁰ See Ind. Ant, Vol. VI, p 191. My translation as given there mentions only the second meaning of madhyastha. It is, however not improbable that the writer also means to say that Mūlarāja was the centre of the world, although the expression cannot apply to a petty ruler who possessed only a few miles of land. Such considerations, however, have no weight with a court poet.

that occasion, Lakṣmī, the goddess of wealth, came out, and she is often described as the representative of the royal power and splendour and even as the consort of kings, the kings themselves are often compared with the Mandara mountain in order to hint at the idea that they churn out Fortune from the ocean of the enemies. Thus in the Harṣacarita (Kashmir ed., p. 227, line 7), Bāṇa says, while describing king Puṣyabhūti, that he was Mandara-maya iva Lakṣmī-samākarṣaṇe, 'Mandara-like in drawing out Lakṣmī.' This same thought is further elaborated in verse 7 of the Aphsad praśasti, 11 a composition of the seventh century, written in a high Gauda style, where it is said of king Kumāragupta—

bhīmaḥ śr-Īśānavarma- kṣitipati-śaśinaḥ sainya-dugdh-oda-sindhur = Lakṣmī-samprāpti-hetuḥ sapadi vimathito Mandarībhūya yena ||

'Who became the Mandara and immediately churned out the terrible army of the illustrious Iśanavarman, a moon amongst princes, the army, which was the means of the acquisition of Fortune, and thus resembled the milk-ocean.' A still more artificial representation of the simile is found in the prasastis of the Rathor king Govinda II, verse 3, belonging to the beginning of the ninth century. I have explained it fully in the translation of the passage.

In the face of these facts, it cannot be doubted that the author of the Nāsik inscription intended to say or to hint all that is contained in the explanation given above; 12

¹¹ Corp. Inscr. Ind, Vol p 203, line 7.

¹² It is just possible that he had in view even other less important qualities of the mountains named here. Thus, as the Meru is the abode of the vibudha or the gods, and as vibudha also means 'a wise man', the comparison of the king with the Meru may imply a compliment to the effect that the king was surrounded by wise councillors and learned men Cf., for instance, Vāsavadattā, p 14, line 1—Merur=iva vibudh-ālayah.

and when we see that he dares to express himself in such an extra-ordinarily cousise manner and is content with only alluding to the sara of the three mountains, we cannot but suppose that, in the first place, he knew all the myths in question and, in the second place, the comparisons of kings with these mountains were in vogue then; for otherwise the expression in question would have been quite unintelligible to the hearer. The comparisons involved in the epithets in the next lines 3-4 are some of them so familar that it is not necessary to demonstrate their occurrence in the kāvya. This is the case, for instance, with the phrase divaskara-kara-vibodhita-kamala-vimala-sadisa-vadanasa, face resembles a spotless lotus which the sun's rays have awakened [from the nocturnal sleep]', on which we should only remark that the use of the word kara, which also means 'hand,' is not unitentional. Equally commonplace is the comparison in patipuna-cada-madala-sasirika-piyadasanasa, 'whose appearance is lovely and lustrous like the full moon.' But as the face has been spoken of before, the author uses dasana for vadana and thus varies somewhat the usual idea. Lastly, no examples are necessary for vara-vāraņa-vikama-cāru-vikamasa, 'whose gait is beautiful like that of a lordly elephant', and bhujagapati-bhoga-pīnavāta-vipula-digha-sudara-bhujasa 'whose arms strong, round, massive, long and beautiful like the coils of the prince of serpents'. With regard to the last epithet, it must be observed, in the meanwhile, that the author has taken great troubles to give a new unusual form to the old comparison of the arm of a warrior with a serpent, already very usual in the epics. For the purpose, he mentions the serpent-prince Sesa instead of some other favourite serpent and piles together a number of adjectives. The first of these things is often done by court poets; e.g., in the Raghuvamsa, XIV. 31, Kālidāsa describes

sarpādhirāj-oru-bhuja. Somewhat rare is the absurd notion ti-samuda-toya-pīta-vāhanasa, 'whose armies drink the water of the three oceans', though sanctioned by the usage of Indian poets. Similar expressions are now and then met with in panegyrics and prasastis, with a view to suggest that the victorious armies have passed forward to the shores of the ocean. A rhetorician remarks that the water of the ocean would never be drunk. But nevertheless the poets very frequently uses expressions like the one above, which, therefore, cannot be looked upon as involving a breach of aucitya.¹⁸

The following lines contain nothing useful for our purpose. Their object is to represent Sātakarni as a ruler who lived up to the rules of Nītišāstra. On the other hand, the short epithets in line 7 remind us of several passages in the descriptions of heroes and haroines by Bāṇa who also frequently interrupts the long winded compounds and the tiring rows of comparisons, in quite a similar manner, and now and then makes use of similar expressions in such cases. The correctness of what we say will be best shown by placing this part of the inscription side by side with a passage, in Bāṇa's Kādambarī, from the description of king Śūdraka—14

- (a) āgamāna nilayasa sapurisāna asayasa sirīya adhiṭhānasa upacārāna pabhavasa eka-kusasa eka-dhanudharasa eka-surasa eka-bamhaṇasa.
- (b) kartā mahādharmāṇām = āhartā kratūnām = ādarsah sarvasāstrāṇām = utpattih kulānām kula-bhavanam guṇānām = āgamah kāvyāmṛta-rasānām = Udayasailo mitra-maṇḍalasy = otpāta-ketur =

¹³ See, for instance, the Udepur prasasti, verse 10 (Ep Ind., [Vol. I —D C S.], p. 234).

The name of the rhetorician I have unfortunately not noted

¹⁴ Kādambarī, p 5, lines 12-16; cf. also p 56, lines 7-8.

ahita-janasya pravartayitā goṣthī-bandhānām = āśrayo rasikānām pratyādeśo dhanuṣmatām dhaureyaḥ sāhasikānām = agraņīr = vidagdhānām.

Of course Bana's expressions are much more choice. and they show a considerable advance in the development of the style. Nevertheless, certain similarity is unmistakable and the reason why simpler epithets are inserted in the midst of more complicate ones is no doubt the same in both the cases. In line 8, we meet with two long compounds which compare Satakarni with the heroes of the Mahabharata as well as with the kings of yore described in that work-'Whose bravery was similar to that of Rama (Halabhrt), Keśava, Arjuna and Bhimasena', and 'whose lustre resembled that of Nābhāga, Nahusa, Janamejava, Śamkara, 15 Yayati, Rama [of the Raghu race] and Ambarisa. Further, these two compounds are separated, certainly not without intention, by another epithet inserted between them. parisons with the kings of epic tales are as a rule used by Subandhu and Bana, in the descriptions of their heroes, who, however, work out in a far finer way. They bring out the similarity in particular points by means of a slesa on every name or show that their heroes surpass by far the old heroes; in that they go more deeply into the original. 16 Here, in our inscriptions, we have to do with the beginnings of a development which reached its high point certainly in the seventh century, or perhaps even much earlier.

To the great significance of the immediately following passage, I have already alluded (Nava-Sāhasānkacarita of

^{15 [}Sagara.—D.C.S.]

¹⁶ Cf. for instance, Vāsavadattā, p. 15; p. 22, line 1; p. 27, line 3; p. 122, lines 4-5, and especially the passage from the Harşacarita referred to by Cartellieri, Wiener Zeitschrift f.d. Kunde des Morgenlandes, Vol. I, p. 126.

Padmagupta, pp. 48 ff.)—'who standing in the forefront defeated the hosts of his enemies, in a battle in which, in a manner immeasurable, eternal, incomprehensible and marvellous, the wind, Garuda, the Siddhas, Yakşas, Rāksasas, Vidyādharas, Bhūtas, Gandharvas, Cāraņas, the sun, the moon, stars and planets took part.'17 It is just the oldest instance of a mixture of history and mythology, so usual in the later court poets. As Bilhana repeatedly makes Siva to interfere in the fortunes of his patron, Vikramāditya, or as Hemacandra surrounds his master Jayasimha-Siddharāja with supernatural beings, or as Padmagupta-Parimala reduces the history of the life of Siddharāja18 to a pure myth, so has here our author given heavenly powers as confederates to the father of his master. This passage thus provides us with an interesting point of connection between our inscription and the style of narration of the court poets. About the meaning of the next phrase, unfortunately we are not sure, as the first letter can be read as nā or na. If we read nagavara-khadhā gaganatalam = abhivigadhasa, as is most probably the case, then it would be rendered thus-'who towered up higher in heaven than the shoulder of a great mountain, or the trunk of a grand tree.'19 With this we may compare the Raghuvamisa, XVIII. 16, where it is said of king Pārivātra-

> Uccaiḥ-sirastvāj = jita-Pāriyātram Lakṣmīḥ siṣeve kila Pāriyātram//

¹⁷ Bhanḍārkar and Bhagvānlāl translate vicina—which I have freely rendered as 'in which took part', by 'witnessed'. The reason why I do not follow this meaning is that no examples of this meaning accepted by the two gentlemen are known to me; on the contrary, yuddham vicar, 'to fight a battle', is given in the Petersburg Lexicon

^{18 [}Sindhurāja -- D.C.S]

¹⁹ The ablative implies here, as is often the case in Sanskrit, that the Positive form has the sense of the Comparative.

'Fortune resorted, indeed, to [king] Pāriyātra, the height of whose head surpassed [the mountain] Pāriyātra.'

If, on the other hand, we read nāgavara-khadhā, then we must translate—'who went up into the heaven from the shoulder of his lordly elephant.' The meaning then would correspond to that of verse 20 in the Lakhā Maṇḍal praśasti, 20 where it is said of Candragupta, the consort of the princess Īśvarā of Simhapura—

bhartari gatavati nakam karinah skandhat

'As her husband ascended to heaven from the shoulder of his elephant.....'

These words describe Candragupta's death, and would mean that he fell from an elephant, and had his neck broken, or that he, while fighting on elephant-back in the battle, met with a hero's death, or perhaps that he exchanged the splendour of the earthly life of a prince for heaven. The second alternative seems to be the most probable. At any rate, the passage referring to Sātakarni will have to be understood thus, in case the reading nāga is the correct one.

In the remaining lines, we have first the praise of queen Gautamī Balaśrī, 'who, in every way, acted as worthy of her title "the wife of a royal sage"; secondly, the very bold, though improper, comparison of the mountain Triraśmi with a peak of the Kailāsa mountain, and lastly the assurance that the cave possessed a magnificence which equalled that of a lordly palace of the gods. All these three notions are most usual in the kāvyas. Instances of the third have been already mentioned by us above.

What we have said so far should quite suffice to prove that the Nāsik inscription No. 18, also, bears a close

²⁰ Ep. Ind., p. 13. [Lakkhāmaṇḍal praśasti (Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 13) —D C.S.]

relationship with the gadya-kāvyas preserved for us, and that it especially contains many comparisons current in the latter. It must, however, be repeated that this prasasti occupies a considerably lower rank than the prose parts in Harisena's kāvya, and is still less artificial than the works of Subandhu, Bāna and Dandin.

VI

Conclusions and their Bearing on the Theory of Renaissance of Sanskrit Literature

Now we propose to sum up the results following from the detailed examination carried on so far. In the second century of our era, there existed gadya-kāvya which resembled the Classical samples of the same, not only in respect of the fundamental principles, but in many details also. Like the rhetoricians and writers of the fourth and the following centuries, the poets of the second century regarded the essence of the gadya-kāvya as consisting in the frequent use of Sesquipedalia verba. Like the later authors, they were fond of constructing very long sentences, a thing which depended for the most part, on the length and number of compound words. However, they permitted, to the reciter and the hearer, resting pauses between long compounds by inserting shorter words or phrases made up of shorter words, some of which are not unlike those inserted for the same purpose in the Classical samples of works written in high prose. Of the Alankaras, the poets make use of the Alliteration, Upama, Utpreksa, and Rupaka, and at any rate, an attempt at Slesa. As compared with what we find in the Classical works, the figures of speech are in the first place, used much more rarely, and in the second place, are executed with much less care and skill. Sometimes these rise not at all, or only very little, above the level of what is found in the epics. So also we are reminded of the language of the epics by the several grammatical forms which are used by the author of the praisati of the Sudarsana lake. On the other hand, the arbitrary intermixture of history with mythology found in the Nāsik praisati just corresponds to a tendency which, in much later kāvyas, comes to view very strongly.¹

Side by side with works written in high prose, there existed, as is to be expected, and as is distinctly shown by the Girnar prasasti, metrical works whose form essentially agreed with the rules laid down, in the oldest available manuals, for the Vaidarbha style. Further, this accordance with rules naturally points to the existence of an Alankarasastra or some theory of the poetic art. Both these kinds of composition were equally esteemed with the Brahmanic science, at the courts of Indian princes and in spite of the lacunae in the Girnar inscriptions, it is hardly to be doubted that a personal occupation with poesy is ascribed to the king and Great Satrap Rudradaman, the grandson of a non-Aryan* governor of an Indo-Scythian ruler. this right or not, it is in any case quite evident that the poesy, resembling the Classical kāvya in essential features, enjoyed royal favour in the second century, as it did

¹ According to my view, what the two inscriptions present must be looked upon as the minimum of the development of poesy at that time, and not as the maximum. It appears to me very probable that, in the second century, there had been many superior and more elaborate compositions, because the author of the Girnar inscription was only an obscure provincial writer, and the author of the Nasik inscription was only a court poet of the Andhra king; it is, however, very questionable whether the poetic art had reached, in Souhtern India, that degree of development which it had reached at the special centres of intellectual life in Northern India. It would be a strange change, indeed, if the two inscriptions presented to us a completely accurate picture of the stage of development in which Indian poesy was at that time.

^{* [}Non-Indian.—D C.S.]

in later times, and that it was cultivated at the Indian In no case can it be said that the Brahmanic science and literature were extinguished by the invasions and the rule of the barbarian foreigners (as an Indian would say). If we suppose that the praiasti informs us of pure historical truth, then its contents clearly show that the life of literature in the second century must have attained to such a richness and strength as to win over to itself even the descendants of barbarians. Thus it naturally follows that the kāvya could not have been a new discovery in the second century; but it must have had a long previous history which went back to the times when Aryan princes were the exclusive rulers of India. For this reason, it would not be certainly going too far to assert that the Girnār prašasti makes probable the existence of the kāvya style, even in the first century.

A very large number of prasastis go to prove that in the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries, the kavya literature was in its full bloom and that the kavyas did not at all differ from those handed down to us. The second independent Gupta king whose reign, no doubt, covered the greatest part of the second half of the fourth century, Samudragupta-Parākramānka, was himself a poet, and received from his admirers the title Kavirāja. He supported several poets, who at the same time were Pandits, and put an end, as far as he could, to the old antagonism between the Muses and Plutus. His courtiers followed the example of their master, and the penegyric by Harisena, 'the minister of foreign affairs and the counsellor of the prince royal',* shows that Samudragupta had at least one poet, of whom he had no reason to be ashamed.

Herisena's kāvya is in every respect an artistically finished

^{† [}Kumārāmātya may be an Amātya enjoying the status of a Kumāra.—D C.S.]

little work, which places its author in a line with Kälidäsa and Dandin. Its style is that of the Vaidarbha School. The very fact that Harisena himself belonged to the north-east of India shows that, there must have preceded his time, a period of literature, during which, poets from Berar in the Northern Deccan, accomplished much, and brought their particular taste to a high repute. Probably this full bloom of the Vaidarbhas will fall in the third century, or at the latest in the beginning of the fourth century. Under Samudragupta's successor, Candragupta II Vikramāditya, poetry must have similarly enjoyed the patrongge of the court, inasmuch as even the king's minister took to himself cleverness in versifying, if not a real poetic talent as such. Even this little composition is written in the style of the Vaidarbha School. The same holds good of the prasastis of the time of Kumaragupta and Skandagupta. The works in existence are, however, most insignificant, a phenomenon which is satisfactorily explained by the fact that they were all written by provincial writers. In the second half of the fourth century, in Vatsabhatti's prasasti of the Sun temple at Dasapura-Mandasor, we see traces of the existence of the School of the Gaudas, the poets of eastern India. This work should be called rather the exercise of a scholar who busied himself with the study of the kāvya literature, than the product of an actual poet. We can see therein that its author studied the kāvyas, and Rhetorics, but that, in spite of all the troubles he took to produce a real kāvya, he possessed little of inborn talent. Small offences against good taste, such as the use of expletives and tautologous words, are more frequently met with. In one place, the author is led to forget one of the most elementary rules of Grammar, by the exigencies of the metre; in another place, in his zeal to form long compounds, he is tempted to disregard the rule, always observed by good writers. according to which, the weak pause can never come at the

end of a half-verse. In a third place, he jumbles together two ideas in a manner the least permissible; and his attempt to bring out a new comparison between the clouds and the houses leads in no way to a happy result.

These defects in Vatsabhatti's prasasti make it the more important to the historian of literature, inasmuch they bear testimony to the fact that everything worthy of attention, in the prasasti, is gathered from the literature of his time and compiled into a whole. Thus, on the one hand, we are assured of the fact that about the year 472 A.D., there was a rich kāvya literature in existence; and on the other hand, greater weight is gained by the points of accordance with the works handed down to us, which the praiasti presents. It has been already pointed out above that verse 10 of the prasasti only repeats, for the most part, the comparison contained in verse 65 of the Meghaduta, with some new points added in a very forced way, while the remaining points contained in that verse of Kālidāsa, find themselves repeated in verse 11 of the prasasti. Further, it is to be noted that Vatsabhatti, like Kālidāsa, shows a special predilection for the word subhaga, and that he, while describing king Bandhuvarman, plays upon his name just in the same way as Kalidasa does with the names of the Raghus, whom he describes at the beginning of Sarga XVIII of the Raghuvamsa. These facts make the conjecture more probable that Vatsabhatti knew and made use of the works of Kalidasa. The same view is advocated by Kielhorn in a publication? just appearing, which reached me after this treatise was nearly finished. He reads in verse 31 of the prasasti—

rāmā-sanātha-bhavan-odara-bhāskar-āmšu-vahni-pratāpa-subhage.....

^{2 &#}x27;The Mandasor inscription of the Malava year 529 (472 A.D.) and Kalidasa's Russinhāra', [N. K. G. W.—D.C.S.], Göttingen, 1890, pp. 251 ff.

instead of "bhavane dara", and shows that the verse sufficiently agrees with the Rtusamhāra, V. 2-3, in both words and thoughts, as there are only two new points added. Although I am not in a position, without examining a good impression of the inscription, to give a definite opinion regarding the proposed, and no doubt very interesting, alteration of the text, still the truth of his assertion that verse 31 of the prasasti is an imitation of the Rtusamhāra, V. 3-3, appears to me quite undeniable. If we may believe in the tradition which ascribes the Rtusamhāra to the author of the Meghadūta, then the point overlooked by me, which Kielhorn has made out, strengthens the probability of the supposition that Kālidāsa lived before 472 A.D., which is very significant. In that case, however, it will have to be assumed that Vatsabhatţi knew the Rtusamhāra also.

One of these conclusions,—the statement that the Indian artificial poetry had developed itself not after, but before the beginning of our era,—is confirmed also by references in a literary work which is by all means old. Whosoever goes through the collection of poetic citations from the Mahābhās ya, which Kielhorn has brought together in Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, pp. 326 ff., cannot but see that the kāvya prospered in Patañjali's time. Many of the verses exhibit metres characteristic of the artificial poetry, such as Mālatī, Pramitākṣarā, Praharṣiṇī and Vasantatilakā. These

³ This tradition is, at any rate, older than Vallabhadeva's Subhāṣitā-valī, which belongs probably to the first half of the fifteenth century. In it, are quoted two verses from the Rtusanhāra, No. 1674 (= Rtus., VI. 17) and No 1678 (= Rtus., VI. 20), under the name Kāli-dāsaya. In the note to the first of these, the editors wrongly attribute it to the Kumārasambhava, VI. 17. The mistake has been rather due to a misprint Two other verses from the Rtusanhāra have been cited in the same anthology, but without a mention of the particular author. Vallabha has probably taken them from some older work on which the author's name was not given.

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verses as well as many others4 in the heroic Anustubh-Śloka agree, in point of contents as well as the mode of expressions, not with epic works, but with the court kāvyas. The composition of the Mahābhāsya can now indeed no longer be placed with certainty in the middle of the second century before Christ, as was the case generally up till very recently; because the uncertainty of the known arguments of Goldstucker and others has become more and more evident with the time. In the meanwhile, according to what Kielhorn in his article, 52 'The Grammarian Pānini', has said about the relation of Bhartrhari and the Kāsikā to the Mahābhāsya, and for reasons of language and style, we cannot establish for Patanjali a later terminus ad quem than something like the first century after Christ. Thus the passages from Patanjali show at any rate, as Kielhorn remarks in Ind. Ant., loco citato, 'that the so-called Classical poetry is older than it has lately been represented to be.' A further proof for the early growth of the Sanskrit kāvya is provided by a Buddhist work, the Buddhacarita of Aśvaghosa, whose Chinese translation was prepared between 414 and 421 A.D. The work is not a mahākāvya in name only, but is written in the kāvya style, as we may judge

⁴ In this connection, one should notice the quotations from Vol. I, pp 426, 435; Vol. II, p. 119; Vol III, pp. 143, 338 (Kielhorn's edition of the Bhāṣya).

⁵ According to the communication of Pandit N. Bhāskarācārya, 'The Age of Patañjali', Adyar Series, No. 1, p. 4, the two old Mss. from the South are unfavourable to one, historically important, word, not contested till now, inasmuch as they do not read Mauryaih, but pauraih in the well-known passage on Pāṇ., V. 3.99. Although the treatise mentioned above contains very little else that is noteworthy, still this point requires to be investigated further especially as Southern Mss. have not been available for the Bhāṣya up till now

⁵a Nachrichten der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschatften, Göttingen, 1885, pp. 185 ff.

from the samples given by Bendall.6 Beal, the translator of the Chinese version, looks upon the Buddhist tradition as right; according to this, the author, Asvaghosa, was a contemporary of Kaniska (78 A.D.). Even if we lav aside this difficult question and take our stand on the date of its translation, which is beyond doubt, the work would still possess great worth from the point of view of the history of literature. The composition of the work in question cannot be placed in any case later than 350-400 A.D. Even the bare fact that a Buddhist monk, as early as this, thought of writing the legend of the Buddha, according to the rules of the poetic art, establishes a great popularity of the Brahmanic artificial poetry and confirms the conclusions, arrived at above, by the analysis of Harisena's prasasti. A thorough examination of the Buddhacarita, and a comparison of its style with that of older kāvyas and with the rules of the oldest manual of Rhetorics will, without doubt, lead to more definite and more important results.*

If one compares the conclusions, set forth in this essay, with the views of other Sanskritists regarding the history of Indian kāvya, it will be found that they are entirely incompatible, expecially with those which Max Müller has argued out, in his famous dissertation⁸ on the Re-

⁶ Catalogue of Buddhist Sansk Mss., p. 82.

⁷ Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XIX, pp. xxx ff.

⁴ [A number of stanzas in the Classical metres and in the $k\bar{a}vya$ style are found in inscriptions belonging to the age of the Sakas of Mathurā about the beginning of the first century AD Cf. Select Inscriptions, Vol. I, 1965, p 122; cf p. 187; Ep. Ind., Vol II, p. 200, No. 7.—D.C.S.]

⁸ India, what can it teach us? pp 281 ff On the other hand Lassen's views regarding the development of $k\bar{a}vya$ come pretty near to the results given above. As he had studied the inscriptions, it was but natural that the significance of the Girnar inscription and of Harişena's prasasti did not escape his observation; see Indische Alterthumskunde, Part II, pp. 1159 f, 1169 f

naissance of Sanskrit Literature; and thus I am not, in this case, in a position to agree with the literary-historical suppositions of my honoured friend and to build further on the same, as I have done many times on other occasions. His first proposition that the Indians did not show any literary activity during the first and second centuries of our era, in consequence of the inroads of the different foreign races, is contradicted by the clear proof provided by the prasasti of the Sudarsana lake and the Nasik inscription No. 18. I think, I must further add that the extinction of the intellectual life of the Indians during the said two centuries by the Scythians and other foreigners is improbable for other reasons also. In the first place, never had the foreigners brought under their sway, in the long run, more than a fifth part of India. To the east of the district of Mathura, no sure indications of their rule have been found, and the reports of the Greeks ascribe to the Indo-Scythian kingdom no further extent in the east or south. In India proper, the kingdom could permanently possess only the Panjab, besides the high valleys of the Himālaya, the extreme west of North-Western Provinces, Eastern Rājputānā, Central India Agency, with Gwalior and Mālwā, Gujarat with Kāthiāwār, as well as Sind. No doubt temporarily these limits are further extended in several cases, as the inscriptions from the reign of Nahapana prove for the western border of the Deccan, and several * traces of war might present themselves in further removed districts. The rulers of such a kingdom could indeed have exerted a considerable influence on the east of India, but they would never have been able to suppress the literary and scientific life of the Indians. Secondly, however,and this is the most important point—the very will to show a hostile attitude towards the Indian culture was wanting in the foreign kings of the time, as the sayings • and authentic documents inform us. They themselves, as

permits us to conclude that even the dramatic art was cultivated in the city of gods. Inscription No. 18, out of the collection prepared by me for the next number of the Epigraphia Indica,* says that 'the sons of the actors of Mathurā (Mathurānam śailālakānam) who were known as Candaka brothers, dedicated a stone-slab, for the redemption of their parents, at the holy place of the adorable Naga-prince, Dadhikarna.' If Mathura had its company of actors, then it would not have been in want of dramas. these circumstances make it impossible, in my opinion, to look upon the time of Indian popular migration as a period of wild barbarism. The conditions appear to be in no way essentially different from those of the times when there were national rulers. The Indians of the north-west and the west had indeed to obey foreign suzerains and to pay them tributes and taxes; in return for which, however, they had the triumph of exerting sway on their subjugators, through their high culture, and of assimilating the same with themselves. The conditions necessary for literary activity must have been in existence, when an Uşavadāta noted his great deeds in a mixture of Sanskrit and Prakrit itself.11 He would certainly have lent his ear and opened his purse to bards and kavis who would glorify him. These considerations appear to me to be of importance for the statements in the Girnar prasasti and heighten their significance.

A second proposition which Max Müller in addition to other scholars advocates,—that the real period of the bloom of artificial poetry is to be placed in the middle of the sixth century after Christ,—is contradicted by the testimony of the Allahābād *prašasti* of Hariṣeṇa, of other compositions of the Gupta period and of the Mandasor

^{* [}Vol. II, pp. 195 ff.—D C.S]

¹¹ Aich. Surv. Rep., West Ind., loc. cit., No. 5, lines 3 ff.

prasasti. These leave no doubt about the fact that there were not one but several such periods of the bloom of the kāvya, of which one fell before the time of Samudragupta, and that they also make it probable that Kālidāsa wrote before 472 A.D. The same conclusion is favoured by the fact that Fergusson's bold chronological combinations, on which is based the theory of the Indian Renaissance in the sixth century, have been shown to be insupportable by the researches of Fleet. The authentic documents going down to the year 533 A.D. know absolutely nothing about the Vikramāditya of Ujjain, whose existence is inferred or set up by new interpretations of the different legends, and who is reported to have driven away the Scythians from India and to have founded the Vikrama era in the year 544 A.D., dating it as far backwards as 600 years. On the contrary, they prove the following facts concerning Western India. Samudragupta Parākramānka, according to inscription No. II, extended the kingdom of his father, at any rate as far as Eran in the Central Provinces. son Candragupta II Vikramāditya, according to No. III, conquered Mālwā before or in the year 400 A.D. and also possessed Mathurā. Candragupta's son, Kumāragupta I Mahendrāditya, held fast these possessions, because, according to No. XVIII, he was the suzerain of the rulers of Daśapura-Mandasor, in the year 437 A.D. His son, Skandagupta Kramāditya or Vikramāditya, according to No. XIV, ruled over Gujarāt and Kāthiāwār, about 455-57 or 456-58 A.D. In his time, the Hunas came forth, against whom he made a successful stand, according to No. XIII. Later on, however, whether it was in his own reign which lasted at least till the year 467 or 468 A.D., or under his successors, Puragupta and Narasimhagupta,18 the western-

¹² See Hoeinle, Journ. Beng As Soc., Vol LVIII, p. 89, and Fleet, Ind Ant., Vol XIX, p. 224 [Read Pūrugupta for Puragupta—D.C.S.]

most possessions were lost and went over to the foreign race. In Nos. XXXVI and XXXVII, there appear the kings, Toramana and Mihirakula,18 as rulers of Eran and Gwalior, and in No. XXXVII, the latter is said to have reigned for fifteen years. The end of the rule of Mihirakula in these districts is made known to us through Nos. XXXIII, XXXIV and XXXV, according to which he was defeated by king Yasodharman-Visnuvardhana before the year 533 A.D. These inscriptions represent Yasodharman as a very powerful ruler who had brought under his sway not only Western India from Dasapura-Mandasor down to the ocean, but also large parts in the east and north.14 In his possessions, Mālwā was naturally included, whose eapital Ujjain lies only something like 70 English miles to the south of Dasapura. In No. XXXV, and in the two considerably early inscriptions, Nos. XVII and XVIII, the Malava era is used, which is identical with the so-called Vikrama era beginning with 56-57 B.C.¹⁵ These exceedingly important discoveries, which we owe to Fleet's zeal in collecting data, and his ingenuity prove the absolute untenableness of the Fergussonian hypothesis. Because they shew-(1) that the era of 56-57 B.C. was not founded in the sixth century, but was then in use under the name of the Malava era for more than a century; 16 (2) that at that time, no Sakas

¹³ See also Fleet's article on Mihirakula, *Ind Ant.*, Vol XV, pp. 245 fl., and on Toramāna, *ibid.*, Vol XVIII, p. 225 With Hoeinle (*op cit*, p. 96, note 2), I hold that Visnuvardhana is a second name of Yasodharman, as is shown by the grammatical construction

^{14 [}This king's claim of conquest of India is conventional and not historical—D.C.S.]

¹⁵ See also *Ind. Ant.*, Vol XV, pp. 194 ff., and Vol XIX, p. 56, in which latter place, Kielhorn has given the right explanation of the difficult expression *Mālavānām* or *Mālava-gaṇa-sthiti*. [The Vikrama era begins from 58-57 B.C.—D.C.S.]

¹⁶ As is quite clear, the Malava era has suffered the same fate

• as the Saka era and came to be known by another name, since its

could have been driven from Western India, inasmuch as the country had been conquered by the Guptas more than a hundred years ago; (3) that on the contrary, other foreign conquerors, the Hūṇas, were driven out¹⁷ of Western India in the first half of the sixth century not, however, by a Vikramāditya, but by Yośodharman-Viṣṇuvardhana, and (4) that, therefore, there is no room at all in the sixth century, for a powerful Vikramāditya of Ujjain, whose exploits called forth a national upheaval in India.

Thus, when, with the fall of the Vikramāditya set up by Fergusson, it becomes no longer possible to place in the sixth century, on the same grounds, the writers, whom legends connect with a Vikramāditya, the view which holds that the leaders of the Indian poetic art belonged to this period, will be also compelled to support itself by other arguments and to produce a proof for every one of these writers in particular. What has been adduced, in this connection, about Kālidāsa—in whom alone we are interested here—is, in my opinion, not sufficient to make out even the bare probability of such a fixing of the age. The well-known but hardly accredited verse¹⁸ which

origin was forgotten. The change of name appears in the Kaṇaswā inscription, *Ind. Ant*, Vol. XIX, pp. 55 fl. Apart from the two doubtful documents, the oldest known Vikrama date is found in Hultzsch's Dholpur inscription, and corresponds to the 16th April, 842 A.D., as Kielhorn has shown, *Ind. Ant*, Vol. XIX, p. 35

¹⁷ If it occurs to any one to conjecture that the Hūnas had caused an interruption in the literary activity of India, I bring to his notice the fact that both the inscriptions of the age of Toramāna and Mihirakula contain no mean composition and that their authors glorify the foreign kings as highly as if they had been national rulers

¹⁸ I purposely speak of the verse only For, in my opinion, it is not advisable to refer to the Gayā inscription translated by Ch Wilkins (As. Res., Vol I. p. 284), but now lost, as a proof for the existence

mentions Kālidāsa as one of the nine jewels at the court of Vikramāditya, and which makes him a contemporary of the astronomer Varāhamihira, loses all its value. Vikramāditva referred to in the verse is, as the Jyotirvidābharana shows, the legendary founder of the era of 56-57 B.C. So long as the history of Western India was absolutely unknown, it was at least possible to conjecture that the writers named in the verse would have been contemporaries and lived under a Vikramāditya-whose time was wrongly put later—and that their actual age ought to have been inferred from the sure date of Varahamihira. when we know that in the first half of the sixth century, there never existed a Vikramaditya of Ujjain, it naturally follows that the legend is the more defective. It would be more than a venture to hold as historically true what remains of the legend, namely, the simultaneity of the nine writers.

A second argument¹⁹ which is based on Mallinātha's explanation of the *Meghadūta*, verse 14, can also hold little water, in that it requires us to assume many things, no doubt possible, but incapable of proof, and its conclusion opposed by important considerations. One must, to begin with, take it as proved that Mallinātha was right in asserting that, in the passage in question, Kālidāsa, in the word *dignāgānān* referred to a hated opponent, further that this opponent is identical with the Buddhist teacher Dignāga, so also, that this latter was the pupil of

∢′

of a tradition of the Nine Jewels Whosover compares the translation (cf. Murphy's Travels in Portugal) of the Cintra inscription by the same learned gentleman with the original will certainly agree with me in that his word is not sufficient to afford us the certainty that the Gaya inscription contained such a striking statement as that of the Nine Jewels

¹⁹ India, what can it teach us?, pp 300 ff

Vasubhandhu or Asanga, 20 as the Buddhist tradition goes according to Tāranātha and Ratnadharmarāja. Then comes the last and the most questionable link in the chain, i.e., the assigning of the year 550 or so to the two brothers Vasubandhu and Asanga, which derives its main support from the untenable theory of the great Vikramāditya of the sixth century. This assumption, as Max Müller himself admits, is contradicted by a Chinese account, according to which, Kumārajīva translated the works of Vasubandhu in the year 404 A.D. The same is further contradicted by Bunyin Nanjio, that the same Kumārajīva translated the life of Vasubandhu, as well as in my opinion, by the existence of Chinese translations of Vasubandhu's works, in the years 508, 509, 508-11 (Bunyin Nanjio, Catalogue, Nos. 1168, 1194, 1233). 21

A third argument²² which is based on the assumption that Kālidāsa must have lived after Āryabhaṭa (who wrote about 499 A.D.) just because he shows an acquaintance with the scientific astronomy borrowed from the Greeks, has fallen down to the ground, owing to the results of the newest researches. Max Müller, in addition to the views of earlier scholars, held that Āryabhaṭa was the father of scientific Indian astronomy, and assigned the five Siddhāntas selected by Varāhamihira to the sixth century. But this is quite a mistake, according to Thibaut's thorough examination of the question in the introduction to

²⁰ The two Tibetan writers contradict each other on this point Tāranātha says (*History of Buddhism*, p. 131) that Dignāga was a pupil of Vasubandhu. The second account belongs to Ratnadharmarāja The older Chinese writers are not aware of this tradition

²¹ Beal, according to note 77 to his translation of the Si-yu-ki, Vol I, p. 105, appears to have doubted the fact that Vasubandhu lived in the sixth century AD Cf. also p. 105, note 80, where Beal shows that Vasubandhu, according to Hiuen-tsang, lived 'in the middle of' or 'during the period of 350 B.C 650 AD.'

²² India, what can it teach us?, pp 318 ff

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his edition of the Pancasiddhantika. Of the five Siddhantas, two, Paitamaha and Vasistha, have nothing to do at all with the astronomy borrowed from the Greeks. Of the remaining three, two, Romaka and Paulisa, are more incomplete and older than the one ascribed to Surya, and all the three, in their form, go backwards even before Āryabhaṭa's works. They are also treated by Varāhamihira, with greater respect than Aryabhata and other individual These and other considerations lead Thibaut astronomers. to fix the year 400 A.D. as the terminus ad quem for the Romaka and Paulisa. 23 Thus it is no longer necessary to assign Kālidāsa to the sixth century just on the ground that he is acquainted with Greek astronomy. I must still further add that the assertion made by S.P. Pandit and Max Müller that Kālidāsa in the Raghuvamsa, XIV. 40, traced the lunar eclipse to the shadow of the earth, rests on a misunderstanding. Kālidāsa there, speaks of the spots on the moon, which as the Puranas teach us, are called into being by a reflection of the earth. As for the eclipse, he is quite orthodox, as is to be expected of an Indian poet.

A fourth argument, on which G. Huth lays some stress, in his investigation about Kālidāsa,²⁵ carried out with much labour, rests on the mention of the Hūṇas, amongst the

²³ In a recent article on the Romaka Siddhānta, in Ind. Ant, Vol XIX, pp 133 ff, S. P Dikshit goes still further and fixes the time of Ptolemy, 150 AD, as the terminus ad quem for the older Romaka Thibaut also says, loc. cit, pp lii-lui, that the Romaka can be older than Ptolemy, although there lies no conclusive ground for this supposition, cf., in this connection, Burgess, Ind. Ant., Vol. XIX, p 287

²⁴ Cf., for instance, Visņudharmottara, I 29 16f—
tvad-bimbe niimale pithvī sa-saila-vana-kānanā | 16
śaś-ākļtili sadā disyā śaśa-lakşm-āsyato='nagha |
ten=eva kāranena tvam=ucyase mīga-lāñchana | 17

²⁵ On the Age of Kālidāsa, pp. 30 ff. (Inaugural Dissertation), Berlin, 1890.

frontier peoples of India, in the Raghuvainsa, IV. 68. Huth thinks that it can be assumed that Kālidāsa transferred the conditions of his time to that of Raghu, and that by the Hunas are meant, the White Huns. These possessed Kābul twice, once from the end of the second century B.C. to the end of the second century A.D., and again from the beginning of the fifth to the end of the sixth century. Now as it is impossible on various grounds that Kālidāsa should have lived at the time of the first possession, so, Huth further concludes, he must have belonged to the second period, and that naturally the sixth century should be the terminus ad quem. The information provided by the Gupta inscriptions, regarding the history of the Hunas in India, would very much modify this conclusion. is not at all necessary to go into further details, for there is no difficulty in showing the improbability of the very first proposition in the argument, which has not been proved. Indian poets, even when describing the triumphs historical kings, their very masters and patrons, are frequently quite inaccurate in their geographical and ethnographical accounts, and instead of giving actual facts, they take their stand on the traditional accounts in the epics, Puranas and other older works that describe digvijayas. Thus Vākpati (about 740 A.D.) makes his master and hero, Yasovarman of Kanauj, to conquer the Pārasīkas, although the Persian empire was then no longer in Similarly, Bilhana, in the Vikramānkacarita, XVIII. 34, describes Ananta of Kashmir as conquering the Śakas, and further in 53-57, his son Kalaśa, as conquering the kingdom of the Amazons (strī-rā/ya) after a ride through the ocean of sands, as well as visiting the Kailasa. the Mānasa lake, and Alakā the city of the Yakşas. face of these facts, it is hard to believe that Kālidāsa. instead of following, as a good kavi is supposed to do, the

authority of the lists of peoples in the Mahābhārata or of the Bhuvana-vinyāsa in the Purānas, should have occupied himself with the historico-geographical investigations regarding the conditions of the frontier peoples of his time. If we look into his works more carefully, we shall find that they contain much that points to his having made use of the sources mentioned above. The whole of the digvijava contains no names which are not also mentioned in the Puranas on the same or similar occasions. It also mentions, side by side with peoples like the Pārasīkas (verse 60) and Yavanas (verse 61), the Hünas (verse 68) and Kāmbojas (verse 69), which can never justly belong to the time of the poet, not even to a single period of time The Greeks have never been simultaneous whatsoever. neighbours with the Persians; and surely the Greeks have never possessed the North-West Frontier of India in years after the birth of Christ. 26 Further, even if the Hunas rushed into India, through Kābul, and possessed the country, still it is not intelligible how a writer who took his stand on historic facts can mention both the subjugators and the subjugated, side by side, as independent peoples.

As for other so-called arguments for the supposition that Kālidāsa belonged to the sixth century, I pass them over; because they are open to similar and even greater objections than those discussed above. I do not believe that the question of the time of Kālidāsa and of other leaders of Indian poetic art, whose dates have not been fixed by actual historical documents, will make an essential advance, by such methods as have been followed up till now, by most of the Sanskritists. In order to arrive at

^{26 [}For the Greeks in records of the second and third centuries, see Sircar, Select Inscriptions, Vol I, 1965 ed., pp 177, 204, 525. For foreign rule in Eastern India, Cs. Sircar, Some Problems of Kuṣāṇa and Rājpūt History, pp. 52 ff.—D C.S]

LECTURES AT THE CENTRE OF ADVANCED STUDY

XШ 1

Lecturer Mr. Robert F Bussabarger, University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri, U.S A

Subject: The Makara Motif in Indian Art

Date: 19 12. 1968

Present: Prof. D. C. Sircar, M.A., Ph D (in the chair); Sri D Mukherjee, M.A.; Dr A N. Lahiri, MA, D Litt; Sri D. K Biswas, MA; Dr D. R. Das, MA, D.Phil.; Sri R. K. Bhattacharya, M.A., Dr S Bandyopadhyay, M.A., LL.B., D Phil; Dr. Sm K Saha, M.A., D Phil; Sm. J Dasgupta, M.A.; Dr. N. N. Bhattacharya, M.A., D Phil; Dr A K Chatterjee, MA, D Phil; Sri B P. Mishra, M.A.; Dr Sm. A. Ray, M.A., D Phil.; Sm. A. Majumdar, M.A.; Sri D. P. Ghosh, M.A.; and others

Summary: Mr. R. F. Bussabarger discussed the metaphysical significance and gradual evolution of the Makara motif He thought that the makara, an aquatic animal, was a symbol of the waters and the kirtimukha, another popular motif, stood for fire. A combination of the two motifs represented the primordial energy that is the life and force in Nature Mr Bussabarger referred to the first appearance of the makara on the facade of the Lomasa-rsi cave in the Barabar hill near Gava There the animal is not very much different from a crocodile. The scroll spout and open jaws are at once suggestive of this association. This indicated, in Mr. Bussabarger's opinion, that the makara represented the earth The motif occurs again at Bharhut where it is shown with a spiral tail. Gradually, makara began to assimilate some characteristics of the fish Thus, at Mathura, it appears with a fish-tail and even with fish-scales. During the Gupta period, the spout of the makara is found curled under the throat. Such a type also occurs at Ajanta. In the next phase of evolution, the makara gets a floriated tail of flamy shape Now the animal is no longer a biped, but has turned into a quadruped. In the art of the Hoysalas, similar forms are to be met with frequently Outside India, in Indonesia, makara is shown with a foliage in the

Often the makara is associated with the kirtimukha In such a

¹ Continued from Vol II, pp. 237-49 (VII-XII).

combined type, the flames in the shape of scroll or foliage are seen emerging from two sides of the jaws of the $k\bar{n}$ timukha, their end becoming makara. The flames, in Mr Bussabarger's opinion, symbolise the flow of life connecting earth, i.e. makara, and sky, i.e. $k\bar{i}$ rtimukha. Mr Bussabarger also drew attention to some other motifs associated with the makara. Thus he referred to the $k\bar{a}$ lamakara-toraṇa, the cloud elephant and makara, the cloud-horse and makara, the wingéd cow and makara, the sea-horse and makara, the punyaghata and makara, and the water-elephant and makara. Mr Bussabarger thought that the makara or the sea-monster swallowing an elphant symbolised the unity of the terrestial and celestial worlds

The makara association was traced in other spheres also. Reference in this connection was made to the Makara-sańkrānti, the Pongal, the 10th Zodiac sign (capricorn), Kubera in one of his postures, Varuna, etc. At Amarāvatī, the makara occurs in association with Laksmī. There a warrior is seen securing pearl from the mouth of the makara.

The lecture was illustrated with lantern slides.

Discussion: Summarising Mr Bussabarger's discussion, Sri D P Ghosh, who took the chair after Prof. D. C Sircar had left the meeting for an urgent business elsewhere, thanked the speaker for his interesting lecture and for pursuing the study of the makara motif which J. Ph. Vogel and himself had initiated.

Regarding the interpretation of one of Mr Bussabarger's illustrations, Sri R. K. Bhattacharya referred to the $V\bar{a}kvapad\bar{i}ya$ of Bhartrhari (written in the 6th or 7th century A.D.), and suggested that the illustration indicates how the sound comes out of the mouth and moves forward to all different directions in the form of a soundwave It was, however, felt unlikely that such an abstract philosophical idea would be the subject of a sculpture.

Questions were also raised about Mr. Bussabarger's metaphysical interpretations of the *makara* motif. The reason for representing the earth or water by the *makara* was inexplicable. It was further pointed out that the *makara*, which was a combination of fish and crocodile, appeared as such already at Bharhut. So far as the *kirtimukha* was concerned, it was not understood why a lion head should be taken to stand for the sky. A few omissions were noticed in Mr. Bussabarger's collection; e.g. the representation of the *makara* on the Gupta coins

XIV

Lecturer · Dr John Morris, University College, London

Subject: The Role of Common Man in Religion and Govern-

ment in Ancient and Medieval Europe

Date: 27, 12 1968.

Present: Prof. D. C. Sircar, M. A., Ph.D. (in the chair); Dr. S. R. Das, M.A., D Phil.; Dr. D. R. Das, M.A., D.Phil; Sri R. K. Bhattacharya, M.A.; Dr S Bandyopadhyay, M.A., LL.B., D Phil; Dr Sm. K. Saha, M.A., D.Phil; Sm. J. Dasgupta, M.A.; Dr. N. Bhattacharya, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr A. K. Chatterjee, M.A., D Phil.; Dr B. P Mishra, M.A.; Sri D. K. Chakrabarty, M.A.; Sm. C. R. Sengupta, M.A.; and others.

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Summary: Dr. John Morris started by pointing out that Roman society should be viewed as a continuation of Hellenic society early Athenians had retained the old customs of the Egyptians and Mesopotamians, but not their religion. Theirs was not a theocratic society, but a society wherein every adult male citizen had equal right. The common man could no longer be befooled and hypnotized by the hypocritical, power-crazy and irresponsible priests. The Athenian assembly, which met once a week, was a truly democratic institution in which every member could express his view without outside pressure. Unlike Sparta (where the assembly met only once in six months) and many modern democracies, Athens did not create a class of professional politicians The people, if they so wanted, had the power to overule the decision taken in the assembly of their elected representatives, and in support of his argument, Dr. Morris gave an illustration. There was no separate institution of judges; instead, a committee consisting of 500 jurors was in charge of the administration of justice The large number precluded the possibility of bribing. Both the prosecution and the defence had to accept the decision of the majority of the jurors

The Roman system, Dr. Morris pointed out, was more aristocratic in nature and only the affluent could afford to become a politician or judge. With the gradual spread of Christianity, however, the voice of the neglected and the oppressed became more and more audible. The poor found in the figure of Christ their friend, philosopher and The Bible became for them a never-ending source of joy, and terrible persecutions, wisdom. Repeated and which began from the time of Nero, could not halt the progress of Christianity in the Roman empire. The tyrants clenched their fists, but in vain. Emperors came and went; but the voice of Christ never for a moment ceased to inspire the insulted and injured The aristocratic structure gradually crumbled and, by the beginning of the 4th century, Christianity became the state religion of Rome. According to Dr. Morris, emperor Constantine the Great could discern in that religion the only hope of moral solidarity in the great welter of narrow views prevailing in his kingdom. Curiously enough the Christians who had fled to the deserts as a result of persecution did not come back when Christianity became the official religion of the empire.

With the gradual spread of Papal influence, the original teaching of Christ was in danger But, Dr. Morris observed, a reform movement, which was started by an unknown native of Britain in the 5th century, saved Christianity. In his Latin treatise, that anonymous writer preached a new and novel kind of socialism According to Dr. Morris, all the later reform movements in the Christian world including that of Martin Luther were inspired by the writings of the said unknown Briton. In this connexion, he referred to the Celtic tradition which also vitally affected the thought and culture of Europe Dr. Morris concluded by saying that, in the Occident, the voice of the common man always triumphed over the arrogance of the privileged.

Discussion: Prof. D C Sircar, while thanking Dr. Morris for his learned lecture, observed that the early Indian writers appear to have made a distinction between the mob and the leaders of thought guiding the common men In this connection, he quoted from the Rājataraṅgiṇī to show how the mob was regarded as no better than beasts (paśu-prāyāḥ pṛthag-janāḥ). He referred to the election of kings like Gopāla, Nandivarman II and Brahmapāla by the people, meaning really the high officers and men of position Prof. Sircar further observed that, unlike in the West, the church or temple organisations in India were never politically powerful.

Sri R. K. Bhattacharya wanted to know the time when the Indians first came into contact with the Greeks Prof. Sircar replied that the contact was first established during the rule of the Achaemenian dynasty in Persia Dr. D. R Das doubted a remark of Dr. Morris and said that the subjects of the Roman empire might have been attracted to Christianity not out of a desire for a religious unity, but for its simplicity He thought that in the lower stratum of the society, such a consciousness was very much unlikely to have existed Dr. A. K Chatterjee observed that Dr Morris had not indicated the extent of the influence of Mithraism on Christianity Dr Morris replied that Mithraism had actually affected the Christian religion in its earlier stages, but that the subject was not within the scope of his lecture

XV

Lectures: Prof A L. Basham, Australian National University,

Canberra

Subject: Ancient Indian Ideas of Time and History.

Date . 26. 2 1969

Present: Prof D C Sircar, M.A., Ph.D (in the chair); Dr A. N. Lahiri, M.A., D.Litt; Dr S. K. Mitra, M.A., LLB., D.Phil.;

Dr. S. R. Das, M.A., D.Phil; Dr. K. K. Dasgupta, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. Sm. P. Niyogi, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. Sm. K. Saha, M.A., D.Phil; Dr. Sm. A. Ray, M.A., D.Phil; Sm. C. Sengupta, M.A.; Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay, M.A., LL.B., D.Phil.; Dr. D. R. Das, M.A., D.Phil; Dr. N. N. Bhattacharya, M.A., D.Phil.; Sm. J. Dasgupta, M. A.; Dr. A. K. Chatterjee, M.A., D.Phil.; Sri S. P. Singh, M.A.; Sri B. P. Mishra, M.A.; Sm. S. Bhattacharya, M.A.; and others.

Summary: Dr. A. L. Basham referred to the chronicles written in Sanskrit which Kalhana consulted in writing his Rājataranginī in the 12th century, but were later forgotten due to lack of popularity. The Pali texts of Ceylon like the Dīpavarisa, Mahāvarisa and Cūlavarisa are historical chronicles. Historical writing, according to Prof. Basham, was never popular in ancient India. Referring to such works as the Harsacarita, Vikiamānkadevacarita and Gaudavaha, Prof. Basham observed that, in spite of their literary ment, they are poor in historical value. But the Indians, although lacking a correct sense of history, had a strong sense of the past and were fond of looking back to the golden age or Krta-yuga when everyone was happy and blessed and there were no serious problems of life

Turning then to the Indian conception of time, Prof. Basham referred to their unsatisfactory and unscientific views about the universe and the Yugas The conception of yuga, according to Prof Basham, was based on the ancient Indian game of dice and was really fantastic and absurd. The idea of the Kali-yuga developed in the early centuries of the Christian era, and it was believed that the world would be a happier place after the appearance of Kalkin, the tenth Avatāra of Visnu, who would destroy the barbarians and foreigners

For the ancient Indians, Itihāsa had a moral purpose In Prof. Basham's opinion, the tradition of kings was originally secular in character, but was later modified by the priests Referring to the epics and the Purāṇas, Prof Basham questioned their value as works of history. The genealogical lists preserved in them fail to give authentic and detailed information about the kings of antiquity as they are confused and muddled. Very few of the epic heroes are mentioned in the Vedic literature and early Buddhist works, and this fact goes to show that they were more imaginary than real figures. Even the chapters dealing with kings and tribes of the historical period are defective. Prof. Basham then added that the Buddhist had a better sense of history than the Hindus. The people of ancient India, like the Shakespearean audience, had a far greater respect for the heroes of the golden age than actual historical monarchs of the recent past.

[Prof. Basham's lecture has been published in the Prācyavidyā-tai angiņī, ed. D. C. Sirear, pp 49 ff.]

Discussion: Prof. D C. Sircar agreed with Prof Basham on many of the points raised by him Regarding Kashmir, he pointed out that chronicle-writing started there from the Purana ascribed to Nilamuni who could not have been later than the Gupta age, and that eleven chronicles were written by the 12th century A.D when Kalhana wrote what he calls a poem. In Prof Sircar's opinion, Kālidāsa's Raghuvamsa, the chronicle of the Iksvāku kings, suggests that chronicle-writing, based on epico-Puranic sources, was not unknown elsewhere in India Dr. A K. Chatterjee observed that the epics and the Puranas should be examined as was done by Pargiter. Dr. Chatterjee drew attention to the first two books of the Mahābhārata offering reasonable reign-periods of kings like Santanu, Citrangada, Vicitravīrya, Yudhisthira and Parīksit. Prof. Basham and Prof. Sircar did not agree with Dr. Chatterjee in respect of the Mahābhārata as a source of political history Prof. Basham drew attention to the Puranic account of the total reign-period of the Andhra kings which was highly exaggerated. Dr S Bandyopadhyay pointed out that Prof Basham had not said anything about the Jain conception of history. Prof Basham replied that he was not inclined to attach much importance to it. Prof Sircar remarked that the Jain tradition regarding the chronology of the pre-Gupta age is often absurd.

XVI

Lecturer: Dr. G M Bongard-Levin, Senior Scientific Officer,

Institute of Peoples of Asia, Moscow.

Subject: Cultural Connections between India and Central Asia

in the Ancient Period.

Date : 5 3, 1969

Present: Prof D C. Sircar, M A., Ph D. (in the chair); Dr. A. N. Lahiri, M A., D Litt.; Dr. S K. Mitra, M A., LL B., D.Phil.; Dr Sm. P. Niyogi, M A., D.Phil; Sri R K. Bhattacharya, M A.; Dr. Sm. K. Saha, M.A., D.Phil; Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay, M A., LL.B., D.Phil.; Dr D R Das, M.A., D.Phil; Dr. N N Bhattacharya, M.A., D Phil.; Dr A. K Chatterjee, M.A., D Phil: Sri S. P. Singh, M A; Dr. Sm. Sukumari Bhattacharya; and others.

Summary.: Dr Bongard-Levin referred to the popularity of Indological studies in Russia and, in this connection, mentioned some recent Russian publications including the translations of the Arthaśāstra and Manusmiti Then he stated how a number of archaeological explorations have brought to light several unknown cultures in Soviet

Central Asia The antiquities discovered in the Central Asian Republic of Turkmenia, Dr. Bongard-Levin pointed out, have established close links between that area and the Harappan civilisation. The antiquities include silver seals, terracottas and metal objects.

In the historical period beginning from the days of the Achaemenian emperors, Dr. Bongard-Levin observed, the contact between Central Asia and North-West India became more intimate. Central Asian tribes like the Sakas, Pahlavas and Kuṣāṇas entered into India in wave after wave and became gradually merged in the Indian population. Most of them accepted Indian religions. During the Kusāṇa period, Buddhism became the dominant religion of Central Asia. It is in this period that we notice the influence of the Gandhāra School of art on the art of Central Asia.

Dr. Bongard-Levin illustrated his lecture by a number of slides. He showed a magnificient sculpture representing a harp-player, which is Indian in design. Some other figures of the Buddha and Boddhisattvas, illustrated by Dr. Bongard-Levin, reveal the influence of Gandhāra art, although they are not free entirely from the local bearing. In some figures, the influence of Hellenistic art was perceptible. Dr. Bongard-Levin pointed out that, before the 4th century AD, it was Bactria that affected the art of Central Asia; but after that time, the Gandhāra art of India became predominant over other influences. The discovery of Buddhist monasteries in Central Asia reveals how the local artists and architects assimilated outside influences. Some Brāhmī and Kharoşthī inscriptions have also been unearthed.

The cultural contact continued in the post-Kusana age The discovery of some paintings and sculptures of the Indian type shows the influence of Alanta and Bharhut. The figures discovered have the same clothing and ornaments as we find in Indian sculptures. Among the paintings illustrated by Dr. Bongard-Levin, there was a hunting scene with the hunter on the back of an elephant, which was clearly Indian in inspiration. The most remarkable find of the post-Kusana age is a Buddhist monastery of the seventh or eighth century AD good number of clay-sculptures have been discovered from the ruins of the said monastery. But the most remarkable single object discovered from the monastery is a huge figure of the Buddha which clearly marks the fusion of local genius and outside influence. Dr. Bongard-Levin further drew attention to the fact that, along with art and religion, India gave to Central Asia her medical science, astronomy and script. A number of fragments of Sanskrit works belonging to the Sarvāstivāda school have also come to light from Central Asia. Dr. Bongard-Levin concluded by observing that civilisations of both Central Asia and India remained distinct in spite of close links

[The lecture has been published in the Pracyavidya-tarangini, pp. 87 ff]

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Discussion: Prof. D. C. Sircar observed that discovery of antiquities of the Harappan type in Central Asia is indeed of great importance. It shows that the prehistoric culture of the Indus valley was not only linked with Mesopotamia, as is usually believed, but also with Central Asia. He further observed that the harp-player illustrated by Dr. Bongard-Levin is not associated, as supposed, with the conception of pañcamahāśabda which was understood in Kashmir in Uttarapatha in a purely administrative sense Prof Sircar further observed that the Gandhara art cannot be characterised as Kusana art and that the Kusānas were not responsible for the spread of Buddhism in Central Asia. Indeed, very few of the Kuṣāna kings were staunch Buddhists. He wondered why there is no Chinese influence on Kusāna coins although, according to Chinese evidence, the Kusānas originally hailed from Chinese territory. According to him, the entire culture of the Kusānas was a borrowed one as they were originally a nomandic, barbarous tribe, having no cultural traditions of their own. Dr. Sukumari Bhattacharya asked the reason of the absence of foreign themes in Indian art. Prof. Sircar thought that influence of Indian religion and art on peoples of other countries is more in evidence than foreign influence in Indian religion and art. Dr. D. R. Das observed that, in the famous figure of 'Heracles and the Lion', we have a distinct foreign theme. In answering a question put by Dr A. N Lahiri, Dr. Bongard-Levin remarked that Buddhism probably entered Central Asia from Kashmir. As regards the nationality of the Kusānas, he said that they were of East Iranian stock. Prof. Sircar observed that, in Sanskrit literature, the Kusanas are described as Turuska or Turk, while Al-Bīrūnī calls them Turks of Tibetan origin. Dr. S Bandyopadhyay asked the time when Buddhism entered China. Dr. Bongard-Levin answered that it was not before the 2nd century A.D.

XVII

Lecturer: Dr G. S. Gai, Chief Epigraphist, Archaeological Survey

of India, Mysore

Subject: Recent Epigraphical Discoveries in India.

Date : 6. 3. 1969.

Present: Prof. D. C. Sircar, M.A., Ph.D. (in the chair); Dr. A. N. Lahiri, M.A., D.Litt; Sri T. N. Chakraborty, M.A.; Sri D. K. Biswas, M.A.; Sri R. K. Bhattacharya, M.A.; Dr. Sm. K. Saha, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay, M. A., LLB., D.Phil.; Dr. D. R. Das, M.A., D.Phil.; Sm. J. Dasgupta, M.A.; Dr. A. K. Chatterjee, M.A., D.Phil.; Sri S. P. Singh, M.A.; and others.

Summary: D1. G. S. Gai dealt with the historical importance of epigraphical records recently discovered in India. He referred to the Asokan inscriptions in Greek and in Greek and Aramaic from . Kandahar and fragmentary copies of the Minor Rock Edict I from Ahraura (Mirzapur District, Uttar Pradesh) and from New Delhi. In this connection, Dr. Gai also noticed a Biāhmī inscription from Guntupally (West Godavari District) recording the grant of a mandapa by Culagoma, the Sirisanidesalekhaka of Mahārāja Kalingādhipati Muhisakädhipati Mahameghavahana Dr. Gai supported the suggestion that the said ruler is identical with king Khāravela of the Hāthigumphā inscription. He then referred to the discovery of Brahmi inscriptions (belonging to the first three centuries of the Christian era) at Sannati, a Buddhist site in the Gulbarga District of Mysore, mentioning Atika, Sivatanaka, Ganganaka, Sanati, etc Anohter Brāhmī inscription mentioned by Dr Gai, engraved on a crystal intaglio (now in the British Museum, London) belonging to Mahārāja Avarighsa, was being published in the Epigraphia India

Dr. Gai also referred to a Prakrit inscription from Nagarjunikonda belonging to the 24th regnal year of the Iksvāku king Vīrapurusadatta whose latest date known so far was the 20th regnal year. He referred to the discovery of Tamil inscriptions in Brāhmī characters, two of them belonging to the 1st century B.C., 6 to the 1st century AD. and one to the 3rd century A.D. He further spoke of two new inscriptions from Mathura, one belonging to king Vasudeva, specifically called 'Kusāna' and dated in the year 93 of the Kaniska era and the other dated in the year 125 of the Gupta era (i.e. 444-45 A.D.) referring to the reign of Kumāragupta I and to the city of Mathurā. Another Brāhmī inscription of the 3rd century A.D., found about 50 vears ago at Pauni (Nagpur District), mentions Mahākhattavakumāra Rupiamma Dr. Gai said that the present inscription shows the extension of Kşatrapa rule in the Nagpur region. He further referred to the Temburu grant of the Pitrbhakta king Mahārāja Umavarman, issued from Simhapura in the 40th year of his reign The ruler is described as Bappa-pāda-bhakta and Kaling-ādhipati.

Speaking about the Devnimori relic casket inscription of Rudrasena, dated in the Kathika year 127, Dr. Gai observed that the era is identical with the Kalacuri-Cedi era of 248-49 AD. The next epigraph noticed by him was the Hisse-Borala inscription of Văkātaka Devasena dated in year 3027 of Dharmasuta (Yudhişthira) and in year 380 of the Şaka era, which is the earliest known inscription dated specifically in the era of the Şakas.

Dealing with the Sakrepatana grant of Pallava Simhavarman mentioning the Valvilli-agrahāra situated in the Sendraka-rājya and granted by the king during the 41st year of his reign, issued from Maudgalītaţa, Dr. Gai referred to the Vesanta grant of the

same Pallava king (Sirihavarman) dated in his 19th regnal year issued from Käñcīpurī which Dr Gai was inclined to locate in the Nellur-Guntur region after Sri Aravamuthan.

Other records noticed by Dr. Gai included the Vesali plate of the Candras of Arakan (Burma) in East Indian characters of the 6th century AD; the Jayarampur plate of Gopacandra of the 6th century A.D. mentioning *Mahārājādhirāja* Gopacandra, son of Devacandra; the Nagarjunikonda inscription of Vijaya Sātakarni, dated in his 6th regnal year; Vākāṭaka Pravarasena's grant issued in his 29th regnal year, and the copper-plate grant of queen Vakulamahādevī of Orissa.

Discussion: Prof. D. C Sircar was inclined to add to Dr. Gai's list the recently discovered fragmentary inscription of Castana dated in the year 11 indicating that Castana ruled side by side with Nahapana Prof. Sircar further observed that Dr Gai's identification of the Kathika era with the Kalacuri reckoning is unsatisfactory because the use of the Kalacuri era is not expected in the Kathiawar region The Western Ksatrapas used the Saka era and the same era must have been employed in the Saka inscription from Devnimori. He further observed that the mention of Gopacandra's father as Devacandra was due to a wrong reading of the epigraphic text. Referring to the Sannati inscriptions, Dr. D. R. Das said that, besides personal names, the inscriptions also refer to official designations. Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay referred to Prof. Sircar's paper on the Asokan inscriptions from Kandahar meant for the Yavana and Kamboja subjects of the Maurya emperor, read at the inter-university seminar held in February, 1969, at the Centre of Advanced Study in AIHC.

XVIII

Lecturer: Prof Ludo Rocher, Chairman, Oriental Studies, The Graduate School of Arts and Science, University of

Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, USA.

Subject: Ancient India as reflected in the Works of the Greeks

and Romans.

Date : 4 12 1959.

Present: Prof D. C Sircar, M.A., Ph.D. (in the chair); Sri D. Mukherjee, M.A.; Dr. A. N. Lahiri, M.A., D.Litt.; Dr. S. K. Mitra, M.A., LLB., D.Phil; Dr. Sm. K. Saha, M.A., D. Phil.; Dr. Sm. A. Ray, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. A. Pal, M.A., Ph.D.; Sri D. K. Chakraborty, M.A.; Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay, M.A., LLB., D.Phil.; Dr. N.N. Bhattacharya, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. A. K. Chatterjee, M.A., D.Phil; Sri B. P. Mishra, M.A.; Sm. A. Majumdar, M.A.; Sri R. K. Billorey,

M A; Sri M. S. Mohana Nehru, M.A.; Sm. A. Bandyopadhyay, B.A.; and others.

Summary: Prof. Ludo Rocher prefaced his talk by referring to a lady who traced certain similarities between Virgil's work and the Mahābhārata and considered it possible that the Latin poet had an indirect aquaintance with the Great Epic as, in his time, there was no dearth of Indian merchants in Rome Prof Rocher then pointed out how, in the works of the Classical writers on India, one finds a mixture of truth and imagination and how this was because most of them wrote from hearsay.

The Classical accounts about the physical features of Indians are correct, and some of the observations about Indian society and the caste system generally tally with those given in Kauţilya's Arthaśāstra Megasthenes refers to the white-skinned priestly class (i.e. the Biāhmanas) who did not do any physical labour. His observation regarding the Indian seasons is also not wrong.

Speaking about the wrong observations which outnumber the correct statements, Prof. Rocher observed that they might be divided into two classes, viz. due to incomplete and inefficient observation and to prejudice and wrong notions. The Greeks and Romans tried to explain unusual phenomena against their own back-ground and often exercised their imagination. Most of them were soldiers or traders and not scholars with discerning power, and this explains. according to Prof. Rocher, their statement that there was no science in India excepting the science of medicine. This was also due to the fact, as Prof. Rocher observed, that the early Europeans did not know the Indian language. Thus they have left the impression that the Indians were ignorant of the art of writing, even though writing had reached a developed and sophisticated form in the Mauryan age. Many things of the country appeared grotesque and miraculous to the Classical writers Often they describe things in superlative terms. India is said to be as large as the rest of Asia and the Indians as five cubits in stature. The Indians have been described as the largest and most incorruptible among all the peoples in the world. The animals are described in hyperbolic language. The accounts bristle with conflicting statements, and the reason is that India was to the Classical writers a land where everything was possible. According to one account, an average Indian lives for only 40 years, but according to another, for 130 years. In fine, we may say that fable and fiction are more evident than facts in the early European accounts of India

Discussion · Prof D C. Sucar referred to Prof. Rocher's lecture as exceedingly interesting. He observed that medicine as the only science of the people is mentioned by the Classical writers only in

respect of the kingdom of Mousikanos in Sind (cf Ambasthānāni cikitsitam in Manu, X. 47). He pointed out that the Ionian Greeks and the Indians of the North-West were both subjects of the Achaemenian empire since the close of the sixth century B.C and must have come in contact with each other at the Achaemenian capital and the trade and administrative centres of the empire. That the ancient Greeks had some knowledge of the epico-Purānic traditions is obvious; but, Prof. Sircar said, they have even correctly translated some Sanskrit expressions, and this may exhibit some knowledge of the Indian language. He referred in this connection to the name of the people called Karṇaprāvaraṇa which the Greeks correctly translated as 'the people who wrapped themselves up in their own ears'.

Prof Rocher agreed with Prof. Sircar's opinion and added that, according to one Classical authority (Arrian), 153 kings ruled in India before the invasion of Alexander for 6042 years while, according to another (Pliny), they ruled for 6451 years and this suggests that they had some knowledge of the Purāṇas. Dr. A. N Lahiri said that the absence of slavery in India referred to in the Classical accounts is due to the fact that the Indians and Greeks had different ideas about slavery. He also observed that the reference to 'ant-gold' has its parallel in the Indian sources.

Lt. Col. G. L. Bhattacharya suggested that Alexander's spies told him not to proceed beyond the Hydaspes and gave him exaggerated and false reports about the military strength of the king of the interior country. With reference to the exaggerated statements, Dr A K. Chatterjee observed that even in the 16th century, Shakespeare makes fanciful statements about India and her wealth. Prof Rocher observed that such exaggerations are found even in modern Western writings on India Prof Sircar pointed out that similar exaggerations are noticed also in the Indians' writings on the West, and referred to a paper on 'Discovery, in America, of a Siva temple which is more than a lakh of years old' appearing once in the celebrated Bengali periodical entitled Bhāratavaisa.

MONTHLY SEMINARS AT THE CENTRE OF ADVANCED STUDY

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XXII 1

Thursday, the 18th April, 1968.

Present Prof D. C Sircar, M.A., Ph.D (in the chair); Sri D. Mukherjee, M.A.; Dr. A. N Lahiri, M.A., D.Litt.; Sri D. K. Biswas, M.A.; Dr D R. Das, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. Sm. K. Saha, M.A.; D.Phil.; Sri S Bandyopadhyay, M.A., LL.B.; Sm. J. Dasgupta, M.A.; Dr. N N Bhattacharya, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. A. K. Chatterjee, M.A., D.Phil.; Sri S P. Singh, M.A.; Sm. C Sengupta, M.A.; Sm. S. Bhattacharya, M.A.; Sm. A Majumdar, M.A.; Dr. Sm. Bela Lahiri, M.A., D.Litt; and others.

Proceedings: Dr. A. K. Chatterjee read a note entitled 'Oedipus Complex and a Story in the Brahma Purāṇa' in which he gave an account of a legend of incest occurring in Chapter 92 of the Brahma Purāṇa. As the story goes, a widow named Mahī became a prostitute and unknowingly began to live with her own son. On the secret being revealed, a dip in the holy waters of the Gautamī (Godāvarī) washed away their sin. Dr. Chatterjee referred, in this connection, to the well-known Greek legend of king Oedipus and pointed out that the story of the Brahma Purāṇa is not likely to be influenced by the Greek legend of Oedipus. He further observed that the former, unlike the latter, does not end tragically. Dr Chatterjee was of the opinion that, in the whole range of ancient Indian literature, the present story of the Brahma Purāṇa is the only evidence which directly speaks of incestuous relations between mother and son

Prof D C. Sircar observed that other tales of incestuous relationship between mother and son are not unknown in early Indian literature and referred to a story in the *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā*. He further pointed out that modern stories of the type of Mahī are even now told. Sri D Mukherjee also thought that there might be other stories of the same type in the vast range of Indian literature.

[The note has been published above, Vol. I, pp 110-11]

2 Dr. N. N. Bhattacharya read his paper on 'The Universality of the Concept of Ardhanārīśvara' He observed that the idea that the first human or divine pair had originally formed a single andro-

¹ Continued from Vol. II, pp. 250-69 (XIII-XXI)

gynous being separated later into two personalities is noticed in the myths and legends of different nations. Dr. Bhattacharya referred to some androgyne deities from different parts of the world and observed that the conception may have resulted from the fusion of the god and goddess cults even though more important is the fusion of the rival sociological ideas connected with them, and this must have taken place at a very early age.

Commenting on Dr. Bhattacharya's paper, Prof. D. C. Sircar drew attention to the fundamental difference between the two groups of deities, viz. a group of two created out of one and another group of two joined into one. According to Prof. Sircar, Hara and Pārvatī are not generally stated to have been joined into Ardhanārīśvara for the purpose of procreation which underlies the conception of the androgynous deities. He also observed that the concept of Ardhanārīśvara does not appear to have any sociological basis. Dr. Bhattacharya argued that goddesses were the products of matriarchal societies and that, in Semitic religion, it is found that, with the social change from matriarchy to patriarchy, the goddesses were changed to gods.

3. Prof. D. C. Sircar read his paper on the Matrimonial Relations between Candragupta and Seleucus, in which he comented on the views of George Macdonald in the Cambridge History of India, Vol Macdonald believed that, India being a land of I, p 431. caste, a jus connubii between the two peoples is unthinkable In Prof. Sircar's opinion, this idea is certainly wrong because the Hinduised Nonaryans (like the Mongoloid Moriya clan to which Candragupta belonged) and the Indianised foreigners (like the Yavanas or Greeks, the Sakas or Scythians and others) were both regarded as degraded Kşatriyas by Manu (X 44) while Gautama makes the Yavanas offsprings of Ksatriva male and Südra female and Patañjali's Mahabhasya takes the Yavanas and Sakas to be pure Sūdra. In a well-known epico-Puranic story, the Yavanas are represented as the descendants of a son of king Yayati of the lunar race. Prof Sircar also drew attention to marriages between the Satavahanas and Iksvakus on the one hand and the Sakas of Western India on the other. Attention was also drawn by Prof Sircar to the prevalence of anuloma marriage according to which males of the upper classes could take their wives from the lower grades In this connection, Prof. Sircar pointed out that, in ancient India and also in the subsequent ages, there was no consideration of caste in the matter of matrimonial alliance between royal families and cited many cases including those of the marriage of Prabhavatigupta of the Non-Brahmana Gupta dynasty with the Brāhmana Rudrasena II of the Vākātaka family and of the Gupta princes in the families of the Licchavis, Nagas and Kadambas. Prof Sircar concluded that Candragupta Maurya's marriage with a female member of Seleucus' family could have nothing abnormal in it and that the evidence of the Classical writers on this point should not be ignored

Sri D K. Biswas wanted to know whether the ancient Indians made any distinction between the Greeks settled in India and living in other countries. Prof. Sircar did not think it probable because, he said, there is evidence to show that the foreigners retained the peculiarities of their social and cultural life for a long time after their settlement in India and referred to the udicya-veśa of the Saka queen of an Iksvāku king of the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D. On the point, Sri D Mukherjee agreed with Prof. Sircar.

[The note was published above, Vol. I, pp. 87 ff.]

4. Dr. A. N. Lahiri read a paper on a silver coin issued by the Tripurā king Vijayamāṇikya, the legend on which could not be deciphered by earlier numismatists. He was inclined to read a passage as *Durgā-pade vijayī*. Prof Sircar observed that the reading did not offer any satisfactory sense in the context of the legend and requested Dr. Lahiri to concentrate on this aspect of the problem and come to a satisfactory solution.

XXIII

Thursday, the 11th July, 1968.

Present: Prof. D. C. Sircar, M.A., Ph.D. (in the chair); Sri D. Mukherjee, M.A.; Dr. Sm. P. Niyogi, M.A., D.Phil; Dr. A. N. Lahiri, M.A., D.Litt.; Dr. K. K. Ganguli, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. N. N. Bhattacharya, M.A., D.Phil; Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay, M.A., LLB., D.Phil; Dr. K. Dasgupta, M.A., D.Phil; Dr. A. K. Chatterjee, M.A., D.Phil; Sri R. K. Bhattacharya, M.A.; Sm. C. Sengupta, M.A., LLB.; and others

Proceedings: Dr. A. K. Chatterjee read his paper entitled 'Sun Worship in the Epics'. According to the author, the poets of both the epics regarded the Sun-god not only as a boon-granting, auspicious deity, but also as a warrior and malignant god; his romantic aspect is also not forgotten, especially in the Mahābhārata Dr Chatterjee referred to the association of Sūrya with animals like the horse and cow The worship of the image of this god was probably not unknown Like the seers of the Rgveda, the poets of the two epics have idealized the Sun-god from both the imaginative and artistic points of view Dr. Chatterjee concluded by observing that the Sun-god does not enjoy exactly the same position in the epics as he does in the Vedas.

A discussion on the paper was initiated by Sri D. Mukherjee who observed that the horse represented the Sun in the Agnyadhana ceremony. While Prof Sircar referred to the Sun's chariot being drawn by seven steeds and to inscriptions quoting the epic stanza representing the cows as the daughters of the Sun (Sūrya-sutāś=ca gavah), Dr A. N. Lahiri drew attention to the fact that in Greece the chariot of the Sun-god Helios was drawn only by four horses. Prof. Sircar enquired whether, anywhere in the Mahābhārata, the Sun's connexion with Samba has been indicated Dr. Chatterjee replied in the negative. Prof Sircar thereupon observed that this seems to show that the Great Epic was completed before the introduction of the Persian form of Sun-worship in India (mentioned by Varāhamihira and in the Bhavisya Purāna), particularly in Northern India. Dr. K. K. Ganguly opined that the association of the horse with the Sun in India is probably due to Iranian influence. Dr Chatterjee disagreed and observed that, as the connection of the Sun-god with horses dates from the Vedic period, that cannot be the case. Sri D. Mukheriee then observed that the conception of the Sun-god as a malignant deity is very interesting. Sri R. K. Bhattacharya wanted to give a philosophical explanation of the seven horses of Sūrya, which was not accepted by Dr. Chatterjee. Prof. Sircar pointed out that similar philosophical interpretation can be offered to anything and referred to Tagore's humorous explanation of the gibberish Hing Ting Chat

[The paper has been published in the Quarterly Review of Historical Studies, Vol. VIII, 1968-69; pp. 171-75.]

2. Sri R K. Bhattacharva read a short note on 'References to the Caste System in the Earliest Portions of the Vedic Literature', in which he wanted to show that the caste system in its most rigid form was prevalent during the period of the composition of even the earliest Samhitas In this connection, he quoted some verses chiefly from the first Mandala of the Rgveda. Prof. Sircar observed that Sri Bhattacharya was not correct to say that all the four castes were known to the seers of the early portions of the Rgveda because there is no reference to the term Sūdra anywhere in the Rgveda except in a Sükta of the tenth Mandala. He also rejected Sri Bhattacharya's contention that the Atharvaveda is earlier than the Rgveda and observed that the former was not originally regarded as a genuine Samhitā by the orthodox Brahmanas Sri D Mukherjee thought that, in every country and society of the world, there is some evidence of the existence of social grades, and Prof. Sircar mentioned in this connection the Mailhima Nikāya and Asokan inscriptions to show that even the Yonas or Greeks had two such grades, viz. Arva and Dasa.

Sri R. K. Bhattacharya replied that he had already proved in an article published in the *Indian Review* that the major part of the

Atharvaveda is earlier than any other Samhitä. Prof. Sircar remarked that he should better publish some articles in first class journals and send copies to renowed authorities on the subject in different countries for favour of their opinion.

3. Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay read a note on $R\bar{u}pa$ in which he referred to the view that $R\bar{u}pa$ in the sense of animal is only found in the lexicons and that it is difficult to trace it in the works of Sanskrit literature Dr. Bandyopadhyay quoted some passages from inscriptions and Sanskrit works to show that the above view is not correct. Sri D. Mukherjee supported Dr. Bandyopadhyay and observed that $R\bar{u}pa$ in the sense of 'coin' is also met with in Sanskrit literature. Sri R K Bhattacharya referred to a passage quoted by Dr. Bandyopadhyay and stated that $r\bar{u}pa$ in this passage should mean 'coin'. Dr Bandyopadhyay disagreed with Sri Bhattacharya and said that the passage $r\bar{u}pa$ -śatam=ekari pälayet actually means that one hundred animals should be protected, since the protection of one hundred coins would sound improbable.

XXIV

Thursday, the 22nd August, 1968

Present: Prof. D. C. Sircar, M.A., Ph.D. (in the chair); Sri D. Mukherjee, M.A.; Dr S. K. Mıtra, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr A. K. Chatterjee, M.A., D.Phil; Sri B. P. Mıshra, M.A.; Dr. A. N. Lahıri, M.A., D.Lıtt.; Srı D. K. Bıswas, M.A.; Dr D. R. Das, M.A., D.Phil.; Sm. J. Dasgupta, M.A.; Sm. C. Sengupta, M.A.; Sm. A. Majumdar, M.A.; Dr. Sm. K. Saha, M.A., D.Phil.; Srı R. K. Bhattacharya, M.A.; Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay, M.A., LL.B., D.Phil.; Srı S. P. Sıngh, M.A.; Dr. K. K. Dasgupta, M.A., D.Phil; and others

Proceedings: When Prof. D. C. Sircar read out the proceedings of the previous monthly Seminar held on 11.768 for confirmation,
Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay referred to Dr. A. K. Chatterjee's paper on Sun-worship in the Epics and observed that the article is not a comprehensive treatment of the subject and should therefore have been entitled 'Some Aspects of Sun-worship in the Epics'.

Dr A. K. Chatterjee referred to Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay's note on $R\bar{u}pa$ and said that the word has been recognised in the sense of 'an animal' in Apte's Sanskrit-English Dictionary and D. C. Sircar's Indian Epigraphical Glossary. Dr Bandyopadhyay replied that the sense was noted in the Sanskrit lexicons, but was not traced in works like Kautilya's Arthaśāstra and Bāna's Kādambarī. He further said that he had occasion to refer in his note to the inscription cited in the Indian Epigraphical Glossary.

- 2 Sri R. K Bhattacharya read his note on 'Storeyed Buildings in Ancient India', in which he tried to prove, on the testimony of the Viśvakarmavāstuśāstra ascribed to Viśvakarman, the divine architect, that, in ancient India, the kings lived in multistoreyed buildings and that storeyed buildings were constructed by rich people for dwelling purposes and for housing their deities. The educational institutions in towns and cities, he said, had multistoreyed buildings. People of the warrior class lived in two- or three-storeyed buildings. The tallest building was of 16 storeys. Sri Bhattacharya cited the Rāmāyana, Mahābhārata Micchakatika and Kādambarī in this connection
- Prof. D. C. Sircar observed that the Viśvakarmavāstuśāstia is a medieval work and said that Indian emperors lived in magnificent palaces and certainly not in huts even more than a millennium before its composition. Prof. Sircar then pointed to the Sohgaurä inscription, of about the 3rd or 4th century B.C., bearing the representation of a three-storeyed store-house and the Junagadh inscription (150 AD.) of Rudradaman I mentioning upatalpa or the upper storey of buildings Dr. A. N. Lahiri doubted the existence of buildings of 16 storeys. In Prof Sircar's opinion, if such references are found, they are to be regarded as mere flight of fancy such as the flying chariots and horses mentioned in the literary works of India and elsewhere. Sri R. K. Bhattacharya said that there is no reference to storeyed buildings in the Vedas; but Sri D. Mukherjee drew his attention to the Rgvedic reference to Varuna's palace having one thousand gates. Prof. Sircar said that the magnificent palace of Candragupta Maurya (4th century B.C.) was built of wood and Aśoka's stone palaces were believed to have been constructed not by human beings but by supernatural agency. Dr. D R. Das thought that Sri Bhattacharva would be benefited if he consulted Coomaraswamy's paper entitled 'Early Indian Architecture: Palaces' (appearing in the Eastern Art, Vol. III) which deals with the subject from many angles Dr. Das also drew attention to the excavated remains and sculptural representaions of buildings to prove the antiquity of storeyed buildings in India. Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay observed that Sri Bhattacharya's paper should > better be styled 'Storeyed Buildings in Some Sanskrit Texts' and not 'Storeyed Buildings in Ancient India'.
- 3 Sri Sarjug Prasad Singh then read his paper on the Sonepur Hoard of Ancient Indian Coins. The hoard, discovered at Sonepur (sometimes called Sonitapura and associated with the demon king Bāna) near Belaganj in the Gaya District, contains 89 copper coins, four stone weights, a terracotta snake-hood and a rectangular stone piece having two Nāga figures on the obverse side and the figure of a donkey and the inscription *Ubliavaśa* (in Brāhmī characters of about the 2nd or 3rd century B.C.) engraved on the reverse It is said to have been found in a field near the mound called Bāṇāsurkā Gadh

In Sri Singh's opinion, it was probably a family deposit. The weights might have been used for weighing coins or precious metals, while the snake-hood and Naga figures, he said, suggested the prevalence of Naga worship in the region. Sri Singh referred to the literary and archaeological evidences on Naga worship in Magadha and referred to the prevalence of Seṣanaga's worship in Bihar on the fifth day of the bright fortnight of Srāvana with milk and $l\bar{a}v\bar{a}$ ($l\bar{a}ja$).

Sri Singh said that the hoard includes one each of silver-coated and silver-plated punch-marked coins, 8 copper punch-marked coins and 69 cast copper coins. The silver-coated and silver-plated coins, also found at Kumrahar, Badgaon, Bhilsa, Kosam and Tripuri, were regarded by him as ancient forgeries manufatured by the private moneyers or counterfeiters and circulated in the market as genuine silver coins. Sri Singh regarded Allan's view that cast copper coins belong mainly to Central India and Uttar Pradesh as wrong since similar coins have been reported from Kumrahar, Rajgir, Maner, Chirand, Basadh, Naulagadh, Madhuri, Pinagara, Bangadh, Harinarayanpur, Tamluk and Chandraketugadh, so that it was a wellestablished currency also of North-Eastern India. Sri Singh observed that such coins were current in the Maurya, Sunga and Kuṣāna periods, some of them surviving also in the Gupta age

In a discussion on snake worship in Eastern India, reference was made to the Manasā cult. Prof. D. C. Sircar referred to the view that the name Manasā has been borrowed from Mañcamma of South India and drew attention to the similar name Cetasādevī occurring in a South Indian record of the 6th century AD.

Dr A K Chatterjee thought that Manasa may be of Bengali origin. Prof. Sircar observed that the snake goddess was worshipped in Bihar and Bengal under various local names such as *Bhattinī* Maṭtuvā. Dr. A N. Lahiri said that the coins of the Sonepur hoard are to be dated earlier than the Christian era and that their discovery from an extensive area in a similar cultural assemblage seems to suggest that they were issued by a Central authority. He was of the opinion that they preceded the inscribed Indian coins

Prof. Sircar did not agree with this view and observed that according to Buddhaghoşa, who flourished in the fifth century A.D., supported by his commentators, punch-marked coins were manufactured in his time even though coins bearing legends had been introduced into the Indian market centuries earlier. In his opinion, the cast copper coins must have been locally manufactured by the private agencies according to the need of the market. Dr. S Bandyopadhyay pointed out that Prof Sircar's contention was supported by the Angavijjā according to which old punch-marked coins as well as the recently manufactured ones were both current in the market in the Gupta age. Prof. Sircar further said that some of Sri Singh's coins were in mint condition and

that they were sometimes unearthed from the Gupta level as Sri Singh had indicated.

XXV

Thursday, the 19th September, 1968.

Present: Prof. D. C. Sircar, M.A., Ph.D. (in the chair); Sri D. Mukherjee, M.A.; Dr. A. N. Lahiri, M.A., D.Litt.; Dr. S. K. Mıtra, M.A., LLB., D.Phil.; Sri D. K. Biswas, M.A.; Dr. Sm. P. Niyogi, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. D. R. Das, M.A., D.Phil.; Sri R. K. Bhattacharya, M.A.; Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay, M.A., LLB, D.Phil; Dr. Sm. K. Saha, M.A., D.Phil.; Sm. J. Dasgupta, M.A.; Dr. A. K. Chatterjee, M.A., D.Phil; Sri S. P. Singh, M.A.; Sri B. P. Mishra, M.A.; Sm. S. Bhattacharya, M.A.; and others.

Proceedings: Dr. A. K. Chatterjee read his 'Indological Notes'. In his first note on Pragjyotisa, Dr. Chatterjee suggested the existence of a second Pragjyotişa situated not far from Dvaraka, the capital of the Vṛṣṇis, during the time of Vasudeva Kṛṣṇa He based his assumption on the ground that the Kişkindhä-kanda (42.31) Rāmāyana refers to a Prāgjyotisa situated in the western direction. In this connections, he also referred to several verses of the Mahābhārata (II. 42.7; II. 31.9-10; II. 33.17; II. 13.13-14) which, in his opinion, suggest the location of Pragjyotisa in the Western region. Three of these verses mention Prāgjyotişa after the Anartas or Saindhavas or the kingdom of the Kunindas. In conclusion, Dr. Chatterjee observed that Pragiyotisa of Assam was so called after the Pragiyotisa of Western India at a later period and that Pragiyotisa of Assam came into prominence after the destruction of the original Pragjyotisa of the West.

Sri D. K. Biswas and Dr. S. K. Mitra thanked Dr. Chatterjee for drawing attention to a second Prägjyotişa which was situated in Western India. Prof. D. C. Sircar, however, observed that the Rāmāyaṇa reference to a Prāgjyotiṣa in the West is well known, though such references appear to be due to confusion and have been regarded as wrong He pointed out that the mention of Prägjyotiṣa along with West Indian tracts is not conclusive evidence In his opinion, the name Prāgjyotiṣa is derived from prāg-jyotis meaning 'eastern light' or 'light from the east', so that the country must have been in the eastern region and not in the west. In Prof Sircar's opinion, the suggestion that the Eastern Prāgjyotiṣa flourished after the destruction of a Prāgjyotiṣa of the West is based merely on imagination.

Dr. Chatterjee then read his second note entitled 'Ancient Name of Nepāla' in which he referred to a verse from the Yana-parvan (130.13)

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of the Mahābhārata, which mentions a place called Vātika-ṣanḍa and describes it as a mountainous land lying north of Videha (Videhād=uttaram). According to Dr. Chatterjee, the description of the place as sacred to Śiva makes it clear that Vātika-saṇḍa was the ancient name of Nepāla. Prof. Sircar, however, observed that Dr. Chatterjee's argument is not conclusive, for any place north of Vedeha and sacred to Śiva may not be identical with Nepāla. In his opinion, the description would be applicable even if Vātika-ṣanḍa comprised only a small part of modern Nepal.

- 2. Sri B. P. Mishra then read his note on 'the Story of Ahalya'. Analysing the story, he observed that the characters of the story represent certain natural phenomena. According to him, Gautama is the sun, Ahalyā the dawn, Indra the fire (Agni) and Soma the moon. In this connection, Sri Mishra also traced the different stages of the development of the story on the basis of references in the Vedic and epic literature. In his opinion, Rāma was introduced into the story later after his apotheosis.
- Prof. D. C. Sircar, who believed that such interpretations can be offered for any story, said that, if one has to understand Indra as something else, it is possibly better to identify him with thundering clouds than with Agni Sri D Mukherjee agreed with Prof. Sircar. Sn Mishra, however, thought that the thunder-god is not very popular in the Vedic and Purāṇic mythologies. Sri D. K. Biswas referred to Kumārila who tried to explain the characters of gods and goddesses as representing one or other natural phenomenon. Sri R. K. Bhattacharya also pointed out that Sri Mishra's interpretation is not new, many authorities including Kumārila having tried to explain the characters of different gods and goddesses as aspects of nature. Sri D. Mukherjee and Prof. Sircar agreed that such an approach is not uncommon
- Prof. Sircar then read his note entitled 'Ambastha and Māhisva' in which he suggested modification of a few of the views expressed in his work entitled Studies in the Society and Administration in Ancient and Medieval India, Vol. I-Society, Calcutta, 1967. He pointed out that, though the date of the settlement of the Ambasthas in the Tamil- and Malayalam-speaking regions has been regarded as indeterminable in the said work, Ptolemy's reference to the Ambastai (Ambastha) living near the Bettigoi (people living about the Bettigo or Malaya range identified with the Travancore hills) would show that the Ambasthas settled in the South before the composition of Ptolemy's Geography about the middle of the second century A.D. Another point to which Prof. Sircar drew attention is that the Sūtasamhitā tradition identifying the Ambastha and Māhisya has been regarded in the above book as a late fabrication. But it now appeared to Prof Sircar that the said tradition is based on the fact that, according to Gautama as - interpreted by Haradatta, the Ambastha was the offspring of the

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Kṣatriya from the Vaiśya woman, the same community being called Māhisya by some authorities. Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay wanted to know the date of the Sūtasarihitā, and Prof. Sircar replied that it is a late work probably not earlier than the fifteenth century A.D.

[The note was published in the 11th Reunion Souvenir of the Dept. of AIHC, 1968, pp. 1-2.]

XXVI

Thursday, the 14th November, 1958.

Present: Prof D. C. Sircar, M.A., Ph.D. (in the chair); Sri D Mukherjee, M.A.; Dr. A. N. Lahiri, M.A., D.Litt.; Dr. S. K. Mitra, M.A., D.Phil.; Sri D. K. Biswas, M.A.; Dr D R. Das, M.A., D.Phil.; Sri R. K. Bhattacharya, M.A.; Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay, M.A., LL.B., D Phil.; Dr. Sm. K. Saha, M.A., D Phil.; Sm. J. Dasgupta, M.A.; Dr. N. N. Bhattacharya, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. A. K. Chatterjee, M.A., D Phil.; Sri S. P. Singh, M.A.; Sri B. P. Mishra, M.A.; Sm. C. Sen Gupta, M.A.; and others.

Proceedings: Dr. D. R. Das spoke on 'A Terracotta Plaque from Chandraketugarh'. He exhibited the Plaque (collected by himself) together with the photograph of another terracotta figure of the same type found at Raighat and observed that one such terracotta is preserved in the Patna Museum while a fourth of the same type was collected by the Asutosh Museum, Calcutta University, from Chandraketugarh itself. It is curious, he said, that the figure in all these cases is the same even in minor details. According to Dr. Das, the figure appears, at the first sight, to be a standing female; but actually it is a robust male. The animal seen on its left side may be a deer, a ram or a goat. Dr. Das added that the iconographic type was popular over a wide area and that its norm was fixed. The type was attributed by Dr. Das to the Kusana period, for in the Gupta age we notice the features of a slender and proportionate body. He concluded by saying that the type indicates a nomadic affinity and exhibits aboriginal characteristics and that nude terracotta male figures are rare, so that the plaque is interesting from the iconographic point of view.

Prof D. C. Sircar observed that the figure holds, in the right hand, a string tied to the neck of the animal and wanted to know what the figure is doing with the left hand. Dr Das replied that he seems to be offering leaves to the animal. But Prof. Sircar was not inclined to accept the suggestion. Dr Das said that V. S. Agrawala, in an article contributed to the *Journal of the U.P. Historical Society*, identified the figure with a Lubdhaka (Hunter). Prof. Sircar regarded

the identification as interesting and observed that, once in a Monthly Meeting of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, a Hunter-like figure carrying a fowl was identified by him as a Bodhisattva though others took it to be Karttikeya Sri D. K. Biswas said that the nude figure with its majestic upper part and the hanging robe reminds us of Hellenistic sculptures. But Dr. Lahiri did not agree with the suggestion and regarded the figure to be a popular indigenous motif. Dr. Das said that he had consulted Sri D. P. Ghosh who regarded the figure as a representation of Siva; but Dr. Das did not consider the suggestion acceptable, and Prof Sircar agreed even though, he said, it may represent a Kırăta aboriginal. Dr. Lahırı said that the figure has no resemblance with any of our deities Prof Sircar thought that the small plaque was preserved in one's house for prosperity and protection from evils and was probably not meant for worship. Dr. Das drew attention to the images of Jain Tirthankaras which are sometimes even three inches in height. Prof Sircar pointed out that the Tirthankaras are not generally seen with ornaments. Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay also remarked that no image of an early Jain Tirthankara is seen with ornamentation.

2. Sri R. K. Bhattacharya read his note entitled 'Paśupa in the Rgveda' in which he critically examined R. G. Bhandarkar's view expressed in the latter's book Vaiṣnavism, Saivism and Minor Religious Systems in which Rudra has been supposed to be called Paśupa or 'protector of the cattle' in the Rgveda, I 1149. Sri Bhattacharya quoted the stanza together with Sāyaṇa's commentary to show that the god Rudra has not been called Paśupa in the said stanza which uses the word in the sense of 'a cowherd'.

Prof. Sircar admitted that Bhandarkar's interpretation of the word in this case is wrong and that no other modern commentator has probably interpreted the stanza in that way.

3. Dr A. K Chatterjee read his paper on the Janakas of Mithilā. He drew attention to the mention of Janaka in the Satapatha Brāhmana and Bihadāranyaka Upaniṣad and criticised the view of Weber and H C. Raychaudhuri who identify Janaka of the Vedic literature with Janaka of the Rāmāyana. He proposed to identify Vedic Janaka with Bihadratha Janaka mentioned in the Rāmāyana as one of the ancestors of Sītā's father. In support of his view, he cited a passage from the Sānti-parvan (2984) of the Mahābhārata, which refers to one Daivarāti (i.e. the son of Devarāta) as the patron of the philosopher Yājñavalkya. Now, according to the Lesser Epic, the son of king Devarāta was Rājarṣi Bihadratha. The epithet Rājarṣi, according to Dr Chatterjee, is significant since it tallies with the description of the philosopher-king Janaka given in both the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa and the Bihadāranyaka Upaniṣad. Dr. Chatterjee also rejected the theory which places Janaka after Janamejaya, the grandson of Abhimanyu.

- Sri D. Mukherjee agreed with Dr. Chatterjee and added that the last word has not yet been said on the date of the Vedic works specially the Rgveda. Prof. D. C. Sircar, who believed in the existence of more than one Janaka, did not think that Dr Chatterjee had succeeded in proving his case. If the Vedic Janaka be marked as Janaka I, Prof. Sircar asked, where exactly should we place Sīradhvaja Janaka the father of Sītā? He was doubtful about the existence of so many Pariksits and Janamejayas. Sri D. Mukherjee believed that all the personages mentioned in early Indian literature were historical figures. Dr. Chatterjee also thought that the evidences of the early literature cannot be rejected. Prof. Sircar emphasised the difficulty in determining the chronology of the Vedic personages
- 4. Prof. D. C. Sircar read his paper on 'Dushanbe Conference on the Kusānas'. The Conference, which Prof. Sircar attended, was held at Dushanbe in Tajikistan (USSR) from the 27th September to the 5th October, 1968. A number of papers were read, and some discussion on them was also held. The purpose of the Conference, organised under the UNESCO Central Asian Project, he said, was the study of Central Asian Civilisation during the Kuṣāṇa period. It was, he continued, a conference organised on international level and was attended by the representatives of many countries. The representatives of some countries including India were looked after with special care and were treated with kindness and consideration. The atmosphere of the gathering was quite friendly. Prof. Sircar presented at the Conference a paper on 'Eastern India and the Kusānas'. In opinion, the standard of the papers and discussions at the Conference was, generally speaking, not sufficiently high. In this connection, he referred to a paper on the date of Kaniska wherein the author tried to re-establish R. G. Bhandarkar's long-exploded theory suggesting that Kaniska I ascended the throne in 278 A.D. The unsatisfactory nature of the theory, Prof. Sircar pointed out, was long ago demonstrated by G Jouveau-Dubreuil and H. C Raychaudhuri Sircar also referred to some of the points on which he failed to agree with the views expressed in some of the papers presented at the Dushanbe Conference. Some such points related to the northern boundary of the Kusana empire, the religious faith of the Kusana kings, the culture of the Kusana dominions, etc.
- Sri D. Mukherjee wanted to know whether the Conference succeeded in adding to our knowledge about the Kuṣānas. Prof Sircar did not consider its success up to expectation. Sri Mukherjee also wanted information about the Buddhist source mentioning the name of Rudradāman. Dr. S Bandyopadhyay replied that the information is gathered from the Kalpanāmanditikā read with the Chinese translation of the Sūtrālankāra.

[The note was published above, Vol. II, pp. 229 ff]

XXVII

Thursday, the 12th December, 1968.

Present: Prof. D C. Sircar, M.A., Ph.D. (in the chair); Dr. A. N. Lahiri, M.A., D.Litt.; Dr. S. K. Mitra, M.A., LL.B., D.Phil.; Dr. Sm. P. Niyogi, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. D. R. Das, M.A., D.Phil.; Sri R. K. Bhattacharya, M.A.; Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay, M.A., LL.B., D.Phil.; Sm. J. Dasgupta, M.A.; Dr. A. K. Chatterjee, M.A., D.Phil.; Sri S. P. Singh, M.A.; Sri B. P. Mishra, M.A.; Sri Pramode Lal Paul, M.A.; Sri Ramkrishna Chakravarty, M.A.; and others.

Sri Ramkrishna Chakravarty read a paper entitled 'Gotras and Pravaras' in which it was shown that the names of gotras and pravaras are generally spelt and pronounced wrongly and that, on this subject, the Panjikas and works like the Kriyakandavāridhi, Purohitadarpana, Udvāhatattva, etc., cannot be relied upon. In his opinion, the correct forms of Kāśyapa, Bhāradvāja, Ķāndilya, Maudgalya, Sāvarna and Ālambyāyana should be Kaśyapa, Bharadvāja, Sandila, Mudgala, Sāvarni and Ālambhāyana. Gotra, he continued, has two meanings, viz. (1) the traditionally known Brahmana ancestor, and (2) vanša (clan). Purusottama's Pravaramañjarī says that the name of the gotra will be the name of the gotrakāra-rsi without any taddhita suffix. The pravaras, Sri Chakravarty added, were to be recited at the beginning of sacrifices while invoking the fire, just to indicate the family-connection of the yajamāna with some mantradrasti rsi, well-known to Agni. In reciting the names of such rsis, the Adhvaryu goes backwards from the descendant to the ancestor adding vat after each name, while the Hotr goes forward from the ancestor to the descendant mentioning the names with the taddhita suffix and using the vocative case. Sri Chakravarty also referred to the pravaras of 55 different gotras as stated in the different books

Prof D C. Sircar observed that, from the point of view of social history, the gotras and pravaras offer an interesting study. He said that, in ancient Indian literature and inscriptions, the Brāhmanas are often mentioned along with their gotras and that, in the inscriptions, we come across certain gotras which are not mentioned in the ancient books on them (eg Ānanda-gotra). Sri R. K. Bhattacharya doubted whether the expressions would be Kaśyapa, Bharadvāja, etc., and opined that the forms should better be Kāṣyapa Bhāradvāja, etc. Prof Sircar pointed out that, in inscriptions, we generally find the latter expressions, while Dr. S Bandyopadhyay said that the form Kaṣyapa is also found in certain inscriptions. Sri B. P. Mishra remarked that gotra might also mean 'a name' and in support of his

view he quoted a passage from Kālidāsa. Sri R. K. Billorey pointed out that even now some people use the names of certain gotras as surnames and Sri D. K. Biswas and Prof Sircar supported him by referring to surnames like Kāŝyapa, Bharadvāja, etc

- 2 Dr. A. K. Chatterjee read a note entitled 'The Pandavas'. He pointed out that, the Pandavas are represented as the scions of the Kuru family throughout the Mahābhārata and thus the theory that they were a mountain clan of Nonaryan extraction has no legs to stand upon. Referring to Draupadi's marriage with the five Pandava brothers, Dr. Chatterjee argued that it would be unwise to jump to any definite conclusion on the basis of this single case of polyandry. Even the poets of the Great Epic, most of whom probably received favour from the royal descendants of the Pandavas, found it somewhat unpalatable, as is known from a verse in the Adiparvan. Therefore the epic poets, according to Dr. Chatterjee, had no other alternative than to concoct some stories in defence of the polyandrous marriage Dr. Chatteriee further observed that there is not a single case of polyandrous marriage among the descendants of the Pandavas. Dr Chatterjee concluded by the observation that polyandry was prevalent among the people of South India and that the Indo-Aryans were definitely not a polyandrous people and their law-givers never encouraged it.
- Prof. D. C. Sircar observed that the Pāṇḍavas may have been the scions of the Kuru family. But he doubted whether polyandry was unknown to the Aryans even after they had sufficient admixture of blood with the Nonaryans and adopted some of the latter's ideas and customs. He found no difficulty in believing that the Pāṇḍavas had Monogolian blood in their veins and that they borrowed some customs including polyandry from that source or from South India. Dr. A. N. Lahiri expressed doubts about the existence of the custom of polyandry in South India. But Prof Sircar pointed out that polyandry existed in the Malayalam-speaking area till recent times. Sri D. K. Biswas and Sri R. K. Bhattacharya spoke in support of the arguments of Dr. Chatterjee.
- 3. Sri Sarjug Prasad Singh spoke on 'Some Relics from Canākī'. Sri Singh said that, at Canākī which is a village in Bihar, there are the ruins of an ancient brick structure near a tank. The place is known to the local people as Mahādeva-sthāna. From there, he had collected some interesting antiquities which were surface finds Sri Singh exhibited the antiquities which included the terracotta head of a youth with a turban, a tilaka on the forehead and rounded and open lips. Sri Singh described it as a pre-Mauryan specimen. The second object was a moulded terracotta plaque with a female figure wearing drapery and separate head-dress. He attributed it to the Sunga period. The third object, a torso of an uncertain period, was

characterised by Sri Singh as a theriomorphic representation of the snake-goddess. The fourth specimen, a terracotta head, was attributed by him to the Kusāṇa age. Besides, there were several terracotta beads worn as ornaments, and also wheels and skin-rubbers and the representation of an elephant painted black with red spots. Sri Singh observed that the said objects indicate an evolution of Indian sculpture.

Prof. D. C Sircar described the specimens as interesting. As to the first object, he doubted whether it was a male figure Dr D. R. Das, however, was of the opinion that it was a male figure which he attributed to the Kusāṇa age in view of the features of the turban. As to the second specimen, Dr. Das thought that it might be the figure of a Yakṣinī He also observed that the fourth object, 1e. the head, closely resembled that of the Buddha. As regards the last object, Sri B. P. Mishra pointed out that black elephants with red spots are not mentioned in the Gajaśāstra, whereupon Dr Das replied that the figure might be that of a Citāhastī. Prof Sircar, Dr Lahiri and Dr. Das congratulated Sri Singh for his valuable collection.

[The paper was published in the Prācyavidyā-taranginī, ed. D. C. Sircar, pp 103 ff.]

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Monday, the 13th January, 1969

Present. Prof D. C. Sircar, M.A., Ph D (in the chair), Dr. A. N. Lahiri, M.A., D.Litt; Dr. S. K. Mitra, M.A., LLB. D.Phil.; Dr. Sm. P. Niyogi, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. D. R. Das, M.A., D.Phil.; Sri R. K. Bhattacharya, M.A.; Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay, M.A., LL.B., D.Phil; Dr. Sm. K. Saha, M.A., D.Phil.; Sm. J. Dasgupta, M.A.; Dr. A. K. Chatterjee, M.A., D.Phil.; Sri S. P. Singh, M.A.; Sri B. P. Mishra, M.A.; Sri D. K. Biswas, M.A.; Sri D. Mukherjee, M.A.; Sri T. N. Chakraborty, M.A.; and others.

Proceedings: Sri R. K. Bhattacharya read a short note entitled 'Origin of Religious Rites in India'. Quoting the Rgveda and the Mandūkopanisad, he observed that the earliest religious rite of the Hindus was of the nature of offering of oblations in the sacred fire. According to him, it was the sage Atharvan who introduced the rite and afterwards it was propagated by the families of his sons and disciples. Sri Bhattacharya also referred in this connection to the Rgveda which describes yajūa as prathamo dharmah.

Prof D C. Surear observed that the title of Sri Bhattacharya's paper speaks of a vast subject, though its treatment by the author is superficial. He further pointed out that religious rites began to develop in human society at the early stage of civilization in different

forms among different peoples, and referred to the Aryan offering of oblations in fire and the Nonaryan offering of flowers, etc., and also to tarpana in waters. In Prof. Sircar's opinion, even if, for argument's sake, Atharvan may be regarded as the originator of yajña which was the prathama-dhama of the Aryans, it is not proved that the Aryans and Nonaryans before Atharvan did not observe any religious rite at all, because the word prathama not only means 'first', but also 'foremost'. Dr. S. R. Das and Dr. S. K. Mitra supported Prof. Sircar. Sri D. K. Biswas suggested that the title of the paper could be 'Origin of Srauta Rites'. Sri D. Mukherjee observed that Sri Bhattacharya's arguments were confined to Vedic belief, though the word Atharvan occurs in a slightly different form in the Avesta. He further remarked that Sri Bhattacharya did not say anything about the bali offering.

- 2. Sri B. P. Mishra then read his paper entitled 'Origin of the Amrtamanthana Story'. He discussed the sources of the story and traced its germ in the Vedic literature. He quoted the Rgveda, I. 23.19, in which it is stated that there is amrta or nectar in the waters. The tortoise incarnation of the god Viṣnu, which is connected with the story, finds mention in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa. He further argued that Svarbhānu of the Rgveda (6.44) is a precursor of Rāhu of the epics and the Purāṇas. The cutting of Rāhu's head by Viṣnu in the Purānic Amrtamanthana legend, according to Sri Mishra, is reminiscent of the Vedic story in which the head of Viṣnu (the Sun-god) was cut off by the string of his own bow. Sri Mishra further argued that the consuming of kālakūṭa by Rudra in the Amrtamanthana story is an attempt to explain the epithet Nīlakanṭha applied to Rudra by the poets of the Yajurveda.
- Sri R. K. Bhattacharya wanted to know whether this legend has any allegorical significance. Sri Mishra replied that he had not considered the question from that point of view. Sri D. K. Biswas opined that Sri Mishra had done well in tracing the story to its Vedic source. He also accepted the different explanations offered by Sri Mishra. Sri D. Mukherjee and Prof. D. C. Sircar pointed out that attempts to trace Puranic stories to the Vedic literature had been previously made by several scholars. Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay wanted to know whether the title was suitable, whereas Dr. A. K. Chatterjee observed that, as the author attempts to trace the story in Vedic literature, the title may not be unjustified.
- 3. While discussing the use of abbreviations in epigraphic records, Prof. D C. Sircar referred first to easily intelligible contractions like sam (sambaddha, samvatsara), Brā (Brāhmaṇa), etc., and then to the abbreviations in the Vangīya Sāhitya Pariṣad plate of Viśvarūpasena and the Mehar plate of Dāmodara and pointed out how he took many years in explaining such contractions as sām-hi (sāmvat-

sarika-hiranya, annual revenue income in cash), vā-tī (vāstu-tīkara or vāstu-tikkara, a mound of homestead land), etc. Attention was then drawn by Prof. Sircar to a copper-plate inscription issued by king Madhava of Assam recently published in the Journal of the Gauhati University, which uses a large number of abbreviations He explained how he succeeded in interpreting the two difficult contraction groups la-gu-vi and pra-vr-gam as lamba-guvāka-vrksāli (tall or mature arecanut palms) and prati-vyksa-gandakäni (annual income in gandakas or gandas per tree) respectively Sri T. N. Chakraborty wanted to know whether vrihi could be read in the above cotractions. aksara was vi, Prof. Sircar did not consider it possible. Dr. S. R. Das observed that the betelnut tree is unknown in Assam. Prof. Sircar disagreed with this view and replied that there is no dearth of betelnut trees in the Brahmaputra valley in Assam (cf. Watt, The Commercial Products of India, 1908. p 83, and Assamese place names like Guwāhāţi and Guwākuci, in which guwā means 'arecanut'). Sri D Mukherjee thanked Prof. Sircar for his interesting and original suggestions.

[The copper-plate grant of king Mādhava has been re-edited by Prof. Sircar, above, Vol II. pp 65 ff]

XXIX

Thursday, the 13th February, 1969

Present: Prof D. C Sircar, M.A., Ph D (in the chair); Sri D. Mukherjee, MA; Sri T. N. Chakraborty, MA., Dr. K. K. Dasgupta, M.A., D.Phil., Dr. Sm. P. Niyogi, MA, D.Phil.; Sri R. K. Bhattacharya, MA; Dr Sm K Saha, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay, M.A., LL.B., D.Phil.; Dr. D. R. Das, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. N. N. Bhattacharya, MA, D.Phil., Sm. J. Dasgupta, MA.; Dr. A. K. Chatterjee, MA., D.Phil; Sri S. P. Singh, M.A.; Sri B. P. Mishra, M.A.; Sm. Manisha Mukhopadhyay, MA.; Sm. Indrani Kapur, M.A.; Dr. Sukumar Bhattacharya, MA, D.Phil; and others.

Proceedings: Prof D C Sircar raised a discussion on 'Some Non-Dravidian Words in the Modern Dravidian Languages', in which he pointed out how the English word 'literature', translated into Bengali as sāhitya, is translated as vānmaya in Telugu, etc., and how 'a novel' is navīnam in Tamil (after the original meaning of the word in English) and kādambari in Kannada (after a famous Sanskrit novel of that name) In Bengali, a novel is an upanyāsa which means 'a lecture' in Kannada. Prof. Sircar also referred to the Kannada family-name Birādar which is a Persian word meaning 'brother', though it means

'the Pāṭīl's brother' in the present case. This was because, in rural administration in the area in question, the Pāṭīl or village headman was often represented by his brother as a recognised proxy. The Sanskrit word praśasti, generally understood in the sense of 'a eulogy', means in Kannada 'a prize' or 'a certificate of honour'. In Kannada, etc., unlike Bengali, Sanskrit vicāraṇā means 'enquiry' and sūcanā 'a notice'. Bhautavijñāna is employed for 'Physics', translated as padārthavidyā in Bengali.

- Dr. K. K. Dasgupta said that ramanyāsa is another word for 'novel' in Bengali. Sri R. K. Billorey pointed out that in Marāṭhī also the word vicāraṇā means 'enquiry' while Dr. S. K. Mitra observed that this can be exaplained by the fact that, in order to find out the truth, one requires to enquire Sri D. Mukherjee drew attention to the word kalyāṇa which means 'marriage' in the South Indian languages He also compared Birādar with Rājasthānīya, while Prof. Sircar pointed to the designation 'Brother of the King' on the coins of Spalirises.
- 2. Dr. A. K. Chatterjee read a note entitled 'Adulteration of Foodstuff, etc., in Ancient India', in which he tried to prove that the early Indian traders were not shy to resort to the practice of adulteration. He cited the Arthaśāstra, Yājñavalkyasmrti and Manusmṛti and said that butter, salt, molasses, rice, timer, jewels, etc., were adulterated. For the adulterators of the above-mentioned commodities, Yājñavalkya prescribes a fine of 16 paṇas and the author of the Visnusmṛti a fine of 1000 paṇas.
- Dr. S K. Mitra observed that a simple specification of penal laws in certain types of adulteration does not prove Dr. Chatterjee's contention that adulteration was widespread Prof. Sircar said that our vast story literature may supply many instances of adulteration and suggested that Dr. Chatterjee may conduct an enquiry in that field. Dr. D. R. Das referred to the Jätakas in this connection.

[The note was published in the Prācyavidyā-tarangiņī, ed. D. C. Sircar, pp. 151-52]

- 3. Sm. Manisha Mukhopadhyay read a note entitled 'Some Aspects of Ganapati' She referred to the Ardhanārī form of Ganapati mentioned in the Halāyudhastotra inscribed on the Amareśvara temple and to the said god's description as 'the supporter of the universe' in the Malhar stone inscription of Jājalladeva. She also referred to the pranks and foolishness of Gaṇapati as a little boy in Siva's family, described so poetically in some inscriptions.
- Prof. D C. Sircar appreciated some of the scenes described in the stanzas quoted by Sm. Mukhopadhyay. One of them refers to child Ganapati touching the jewels on his father's body in a desire to appropriate some of them and at the same time looking fearfully at his father's face. Another depicts Ganapati as keeping the rythm,

with his trunk, when his father danced. Sri D. Mukherjee opined that such descriptions are due to individual fancies of the poets [The note was published above, Vol. II, pp. 112 ff.]

- 4. Sm Indrani Kapur read a note on 'A Yab-yum Bronze Image from Nepal'. The bronze sculpture which she exhibited was brought by one of her relations from Nepal. It represents a bird-headed god in a pose of dancing and hurling a vajra with the right hand and holding a $ghant\bar{a}$ in the left hand with which he embraces the goddess.
- Dr. D. R. Das suggested that the god may be the Garuda-headed Vajrapāni Bodhisattva. Sm. Kapur observed that the god has not the wings and claws of Garuda. Prof. Sircar regarded it as an interesting specimen not illustrated in Bhattacharya's Indian Buddhist Iconography and Getty's Gods of Northern Buddhism.

[The note was published above, Vol. II, pp. 116-17]

Thursday, the 13th March, 1969

Present: Prof. D. C Sircar, M.A., Ph.D. (in the chair); Sri D. Mukherjee, M.A.; Dr. S. K. Mitra, M.A., LLB., D.Phil.; Sri D. K. Biswas, M.A.; Dr. Sm. K. Saha, M.A., D.Phil; Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay, M.A., LLB., D.Phil; Dr. D. R. Das, M.A., D.Phil; Sm. J. Dasgupta, M.A.; Dr. A. K. Chatterjee, M.A., D.Phil.; Sri S. P. Singh, M.A.; Sm. Manisha Mukhopadhyay, M.A.; and others.

Proceedings: Sri Sarjug Prasad Singh read a paper on 'An Inscribed Stone from Sonepur' The reddish stone, measuring $4'' \times 3'' \times 8''$, was found in the possession of an old woman of the village of Sonepur, also called Sonitpur (associated in local tradition with the demon king Bana), situated about 3 miles to the west of the Belägañi Police Station in the Gaya District of Bibar. Sri Singh said that the stone, which is a surface find, bears, on the obverse, a pair of Naga figures and, on the reverse, a figure of a donkey and the inscription Ubhavasa in Brahmi characters. According to him, the inscription seems to record a personal name. In Sri Singh's opinion, the appearance of the Naga figures on the present stone suggests the popularity of the serpent cult in this region of ancient Bihar. The Naga was probably the family deity of the person to whom the stone belonged. Sri Singh then referred to the occurrence of similar Naga figures on the silver punch-marked coins and various local and tribal coins like those of Ayodhya, the Yaudheyas, the Kunındas, the Kulütas, etc. He suggested that, on palaeographical grounds, the stone may be assigned to the 3rd century B C Sri Singh further dealt with the artistic value of the stone and observed

that the designs and incisions on the Naga figures show a highly developed art of stone carving.

Prof. D. C. Sircar observed that the letter s found in the inscription was rarely used in the early Prakrit records of Eastern India and, therefore, he suggested that the stone may be assigned to the 2nd or 1st century B.C. He said that similarly placed Näga figures standing on a base line and joined together with a top curve, would make the srivatsa symbol. Sri D. Mukherjee referred to the donkey's association with Sītalādevī, though Prof. Sircar did not agree with Sri Mukherjee and referred to the late origin of the said divinity. Dr. D. R. Das was of the opinion that the figure of the donkey was drawn earlier than the engraving of the inscription Prof. Sircar considered Dr. Das's suggestion unlikely and pointed out that the figure of the donkey and the inscription are separated from each other and are not overlapping.

2 Sm. Manisha Mukhopadhyay read her note entitled 'Apotheosis of Yudhişthira and Hanumat', in the first part of which she pointed out that, in the Māndhātā plates (Vikrama Samvat 1282) of Paramāra Devapāla, Yudhisthira is represented as worshipped as a god, and in the Mahābhārata, although he was a Kuru prince, he is regarded as an incarnation of Dharmarāja Yama. Sm. Mukhopadhyay referred to Yudhişthira's association with one of the rathas at Mahābalipuram suggesting his deification. According to her, his adherence to Dharma (i.e. righteousness and truthfulness) was the basis of his deification.

Sm. Mukhopadhyay then referred to the Mt. Abu stone inscription (Vikrama Samvat 1342) of Samarasimha, according to which Hanumat was worshipped as a god, as a protector of mankind, who was a Māyāvin, and as a companion of Rāma in the Rāmāyana; but he was not regarded as a god by Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti. Referring to the Khajuraho inscribed image of Hanumat belonging to the end of the ninth century, Sm Mukhopadhyay said that this indicates the increasing popularity of the monkey god. In her opinion, the tendency towards Hanumat's apotheosis gave impetus to Tulsīdās, the author of the Rāmcaritmānas (1584 A.D.), for the complete deification of Hanumat.

Prof. D. C. Sircar observed that the deification of Yudişthira and Hanumat was associated with the conception of their birth from divine fathers. Arjuna, he said, is referred to as a divinity by Pānini; but there is as yet no reference to the deification of Bhūma, Nakula and Sahadeva though their birth has also been traced from divine beings. Sri D. K. Biswas referred to a passage ascribed to Megasthenes (4th century B.C.) alluding to the worship of monkeys. Dr. A. K. Chatterjee referred to the occurrence of Hanumat in the Matsya Purāna Prof. D. C. Sircar observed that such Purānic evidence is late and unimportant. He further observed that though Hanumat is honoured as a god in many parts of India, he is not held in very high esteem in some areas as in Bengal where the Rāma cult did not

become prominent. Dr. D. R. Das referred to the Mahākapi Jātaka and said that, in his previous birth, the Buddha was born as a monkey.

3. Prof D. C. Sircar read his paper entitled The Letters H and S in Dravida-Brahmi' in which he defended his reading arahanasa and also Hiru-Hatakanisa, found on certain silver coins of the Sātavāhanas, against aracanaku and Ciru-Cātakaniku recently proposed by his critics. He pointed out that, although Santamula=Camtamula $(\dot{s}=c)$ is found in the Iksvāku inscriptions of the 3rd and 4th √ centuries A.D., the Satavahana inscriptions offer Saktiśri-Hakusiri (indicating s=h; cf. $\sqrt{a}ta=Hala$), and, moreover, the letter in question resembles Brāhmī h more than Brāhmī c. As to the letter s which has now been supposed by some to be ku, Prof. Sircar pointed out that the reading of s is justified by the Bhattiprolu inscriptions which also clearly demonstrate sa as the suffix for the sixth case-ending and represent ku by the usual Early Brāhmī sign Prof Sircar rejected the recent reading of the letter as ku as not supported by palaeographical evidence and as the suffix ku for the sixth case-ending is neither expected in Prakrit nor in Dravidian.

Sri D. Mukherjee agreed with Prof. Sircar and observed that the conjecture about the ues of a Dravidian case-ending in it is unwarranted. He also emphasised that ku is the Dravidian dative suffix and not the sign for genitive

XXXI

Thursday, the 17th April, 1969

Present: Prof. D C Sircar, MA., Ph D. (in the chair); Sri D. Mukherjee, M.A.; Dr. A N. Lahiri, MA, DLitt; Sri T. N. Chakraborty, MA.; Dr S. K. Mitra, M. A., LLB., D.Phil.; Dr. K. K. Dasgupta, MA., D Phil; Sri D. K. Biswas, M.A.; Dr. Sm. P. Niyogi, MA., DPhil; Dr. Sm K Saha, M.A., D.Phil; Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay, MA, LLB., D Phil.; Dr. D R. Das, M.A., D Phil; Dr N. N. Bhattacharya, MA, D.Phil; Dr A. K. Chatterjee, MA.; D.Phil.; Sri S. P. Singh, M.A.; Sri B. P. Mishra, M.A.; Sm. C Sengupta, MA; Sm. Manisha Mukhopadhyay, M.A.; Prof Dasharatha Sharma, M.A., D Litt.; and others.

Proceedings: Dr. A K. Chatterjee read a note entitled 'Bnbery in Ancient India' in which he wanted to show that the practice of bribery was very common among the ancient Indians. In support of his contention, he referred to some statements in the Smrtis and the Arthaśāstra. He said that the Smrtis have prescribed heavy punishments for accepting bribes. In this connection, Dr. Chatterjee

discussed a few stories from the Jātakas and the Kathāsaritsāgara

- Prof. D. C. Sircar observed that the subject is interesting and a comprehensive study should be made. He pointed out that in the Tarachandi rock inscription there is specific mention of certain Brāhmaṇas obtaining a charter recording the grant of a rent-free holding in their favour after having offered utkoca or bribe to an officer of the Gāhaḍavāla king Vijayacandra.
- 2. Dr. Sm. K. Saha read her paper entitled 'Some Buddhist Monks of Central Asia in China'. She said that the monks of Central Asia made their way to China from the middle of the 2nd century A.D. Some of the distinguished monks mentioned by her are the following:—(1) An-sht-kao, (2) Lokakşema, (3) Shi-yao, (4) Seng-hui. and (5) Kumārajīva.
- 3. Sm. Manisha Mukhopadhyay read her paper entitled 'Kubera's Relations' in which she pointed out that, according to J. N. Banerjea, Ganapati developed out of the conception of Kubera, the idea of the god resulting from a combination of the iconographic types of the Yakşa and Nāga. She said that, in the literary works and inscriptions, Kubera is regarded as the guardian of the northern quarters and as the possessor of wealth. According to Sm. Mukhopadhyay, although Kubera's worship was not widespread, he was a popular deity. She referred to the mention of Kubera in the Mahābhāsya of Patañjali and of the installation of his image in a fort in Kautılya's She pointed out that the Rāmāyana regarded Kubera as a god, the early Jain and Buddhist scriptures referring to him as a Vyantaradevatā; but Kālidāsa calls him Rājarāješa and a devotee of Siva. Sm. Mukhopadhyay then referred to the Sakrai stone inscription (Vikrama Samvat 837) alluding to Kubera's worship, his description resembling that of Ucchista-Ganapati of the Tantras. Soon, however, Kubera lost his status and came to be represented sometimes as a dvārapāla in the temple of Laksmī. She also pointed out that, in the Puranas, Kubera is described as born of Kṛṣṇa's body and, in the Mahābhārata, he is associated with Laksmī. Sm. Mukhopadhyay accepted the view that Kubera was a Nonaryan deity who was later assimilated in the pantheons of the Hindu, Buddhist and Jain gods.
- Prof D. C. Sircar did not accept J. N. Banerjea's view regarding Gaṇapati's relations with Kubera, which, in his opinion, was influenced by Coomaraswamy's opinion, but does not appear to be supported by evidence. Prof Sircar pointed out that the Bharhut inscriptions describe Dhrtarāṣṭra, Virūdhaka, Virūpākṣa and Kubera as the Buddhist Lokapālas while the Nanaghat inscription mentions Yama, Varuṇa, Kubera and Vāṣava as the Brāhmaṇical Lokapālas. The above inscriptions belong respectively to the second and first centuries B.C. Prof. Sircar also referred to the Allahabad pillar inscription of the 4th century A D

mentioning Kubera in the list of Brahmanical Lokapalas, though in literature Kubera's place is taken sometimes by Agni or Soma. Dr. A. K. Chatterjee said that the image of Gaṇapati with elephant's head is described in the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā*. Prof. Sircar regarded the statement to be dubious and pointed out that Gaṇeśa is known only from about the 4th century A.D. and referred to Gaṇeśa images of the 4th and later centuries. He pointed out that Kubera is not a Vedic god Sri D. Mukherjee doubted Kubera's Nonaryan origin.

XXXII

Thursday, the 17 July, 1969.

Present: Prof. D. C. Sircar M.A., Ph D. (in the chair); Sri D Mukherjee, M.A.; Dr. A. N. Lahiri, M.A., D.Litt.; Sri T. N. Chakraborty, M.A.; Dr. S. K. Mitra, M.A., Ll.B., D. Phil.; Sri D. K. Biswas, MA; Dr. Sm P. Niyogi, M.A., D. Phil.; Sri R. K. Bhattacharya, M.A.; Dr. Sm. K. Saha, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay, M.A., Ll.B., D.Phil.; Dr. D. R. Das, M.A., D.Phil; Dr. N. N. Bhattacharya, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. A. K. Chatterjee, M.A., D. Phil; Dr. S. P. Singh, M.A., D.Phil.; Sri B. P. Mishra, M.A.; Sm. A. Bandyopadhyay, B.A.; Sri R. K. Billorey, M.A.; Sri M. S. S. Mohana Nehru M.A.; Sm. M. Mukhopadhyay, M.A.; and others.

Proceedings: Sri T. N. Chakraborty moved a resolution condoling the death of the distinguished Indologists, Drs. B. C. Law and U. N. Ghoshal, in Calcutta, respectively on the 3rd May, 1969, and the 15th July, 1969. The members and guests stood up in silence for two minutes in honour of the deceased scholars

2. Sri D. K. Biswas read a paper entitled 'Dharmacakra Jina' in which he suggested that, since the Jina or Buddha of the said name is stated to have been installed by Aśoka, it must have been the symbolical representation of the Buddha in the form of the Wheel of Law, because the Buddha was represented by symbols in early Indian art. His second contention was that the capital of an Asokan column bearing the prominent representation of the Wheel Law may have been regarded as the Dharmacakra-Jina by popular convention. Prof. Sircar agreed with Sri Biswas' first contention that the Buddha was represented in early Indian art by symbols such as the wheel, the lotus, the white elephant, etc. He pointed out, however, that the Jina represented by the Dharma-cakra in this case was apparently installed in some shrine, so that it may have been a sculpture as found at Barhut and not a tall column which was not easy to accommodate in a shrine. Sri Biswas said in reply that the broken capital of an Asokan column may have been installed for worship in a shrine.

- In Prof Sircar's opinion, there is no necessity to think that it was a pullar capital since it could have been a Dharmacakra made and installed by Asoka or any later ruler for worship. [See above, pp. 90 ff.]
- 3. Sri R. K. Bhattacharya read his paper entitled 'Widow-marriage among the Vīraśaivas' in which he said that, according to the Vīraśaiva-matasanivardhinī (compiled and edited by P R. Karibasava Sāstri) widow-marriage is prohibited in Vīraśaiva society. Prof. Sircar observed that anybody having knowledge about the Vīraśaivas knows that they follow the custom of widow-remarriage, so that the work referred to by Sri Bhattacharya seems to be written in an attempt to effect changes in the Vīraśaiva society.
- 4. Sri R. K Billorey read his paper on 'the Yakşa and Yaksī Figures of the Mauryan Period'. He said that the Maurya period, and not the Sunga age, should be regarded as the beginning of the indigenous art of India and that the views of Prof. N. R. Ray and Prof S. K. Saraswati that Maurya art is purely court art is wrong. He said that the large number of terracotta figurines relating to folk production from the Mauryan levels at various ancient sites should be taken into account. Sri Billorey referred to Prof. Ray's comparative study of the Didarganj Yaksi and the Yaksi figure of the Mathura relief both of which were assigned to the 2nd century A.D. on stylistic grounds. According to Sri Billorey, their affinity is accidental and therefore they cannot be assigned to the same age. In his opinion, the Parkham Yakşa is earlier than the Didarganj Yaksī and the former is more primitive in character, while the latter is a curious mixture of the primitive and highly developed feelings. He further said that the Mauryan period was the flowering epoch of the Indian folk tradition and, for the first time, an attempt was made to use stone for folk productions as is evident from the Yakşa and Yaksī Sri Billorey did not agree with Prof Saraswati's view that human figure is conspicuously absent in Maurya art and referred to a large number of Mauryan terracotta figurines and the Yakşa and Yaksī figures.
- Prof. D. C. Sircar congratulated Sri Billorey, who is the first M.A. student of AIHC to read a paper at the Monthly Seminar, for the independence of his thinking. He observed that different scholars have pronounced different theories about the dates of the sculptures; but since a single art object cannot be both Maurya and Sunga, the theory of one group of scholars must be wrong. Sri D. K. Biswas said that the theories appear to be based on insufficient data.
- 5. Prof. D. C. Sircar read three of his notes entitled (1) 'Kapilavatthu', (2) 'Alleged Inscription of Khāravela', and (3) 'Text and Translation of Some Candra Inscriptions from East Bengal' In the first note, Prof. Sircar pointed out that Pali Kapilavatthu has been generally taken wrongly as Sanskrit Kapilavastu. He observed that Pali vatthu

stands for both vastu and vāstu in Sanskrit, but that the name should be Kapilavāstu and not Kapilavastu since tradition associates it with the vāstu or habitation of the sage Kapila.

- 6. In the second note, Prof. Sircar referred to an inscription found at Guntupally in the West Godavari District and published by Dr. R. Subrahmanyam in the Andhra Pradesh Archaeological series. It has been ascribed to the Kalinga king Khāravela by Dr. Subrahmanyam who thinks that the king's name is not mentioned, but that he is called by his dynastic name Mahameghavahana. According to Prof. Sircar, the record cannot be assigned to a period earlier than the 2nd or 3rd century AD. on palaeographical grounds, so that the king mentioned in it cannot be Khāravela. Prof. Sircar also rejected the contention that the inscription does not mention the Mahameghavāhana king's personal name since it refers to Mahārāja Sada of the Mahāmeghavāhana clan, who was the lord of Kalinga and Mahisaka. Prof. Sircar further observed that the epigraph records the gift of Cūla-Goma, a scribe of the said king. The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it points to Mahāmeghavāhana rule in the Godavari region long after Khāravela (1st century BC.).
- 7. In the third note, Prof. Sircar dealt with certain mistakes in the reading and interpretation of three copper-plate grants of the Candra dynasty of East Bengal—two of Ladahacandra and one of Govindacandra, published by Prof. A. H. Dani in the Pakistan Archaeology, 1966. Prof Sircar pointed out that, in a number of places, the word vanisa (vanisa) has been wrongly read as Vanga, so that Candravanisa has been made the meaningless Candra-Vanga. Likewise, the quite common Puranic conception regarding the moon springing from the eye of the sage Atri has been totally missed by misconstruing Atri-netrāt, 'from Atri's eye', as a-Trinetrāt regarded strangely as both 'from the Three-eyed god', and 'not from the Three-eyed god'. In this connection, Sri D K Biswas drew attention to B C. Mazumdar's reading of sītāmsu-vanisa as sītāmga-vaniga in the Maranjamura plates

[The first and second notes are published respectively in the Calcutta Review, July-September, 1969, pp 69-70, and above, pp. 30 ff]

XXXIII

Thursday, the 14th August, 1969.

Present: Prof. D. C. Sircar, M.A., Ph.D. (in the chair); Sri D. Mukherjee, M.A.; Dr. S. K. Mitra, M.A., LLB, D.Phil; Sri D. K. Biswas, M.A.; Dr. Sm. K. Saha, M.A., D.Phil.; Sm. C. Sengupta, M.A., L.L.B.; Dr. D. R. Das, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. N. N. Bhattacharya, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. A. K. Chatterjee, M.A., D.Phil.; Sri S. P. Singh, M.A.; Sri B. P. Mishra, M.A.; Sm. K. Goswami, M.A.; and others.

Proceedings · Sri B. P. Mishra read a note entitled 'Dadhīca and Dadhyañc' in which he sought to trace the historical development of the story of Dadhīca According to him, the germ of the story occurs in the Rgveda which refers to the killing of the ninety-nine Vṛtras by Indra with the help of Dadhīca's bones. He quoted from Sāyaṇa's commentary and the Brhaddevatā to show that the madhuvidyā was first proclaimed by Indra to Dadīca who according to the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa taught that science to the Asvins by using a horse's head Sri Mishra pointed out that a reference to the story is found in the Mahābhārata. Some slightly different versions are found in the Purāṇas.

Prof Sircar observed that 'Dadhīci' as the form of the name is found in some Purāṇas and appears to have become more popular in some areas than Dadhyañc and Dadhīca. Dr A. K. Chatterjee asked whether there is any allegorical significance in the story as found in the Vedas and the Purāṇas. Sri Mishra replied, in the negative

2. Dr A K Chatterjee read a paper entitled 'Some Problems regarding the Date of the Rāmāyaṇa', in which he said that Books II-VI of the Rāmāyana were composed before the Mahābhārata. Dr. Chatterjee pointed out that some of the cities like Jatapura, Candracitra, Pragyotisa [of the west], Pragvata, Kalinganagara (on the Gomati) and Rajagrha-Girivraja (in the Kekaya country) mentioned in the Rāmāyana were not known to the Mahābhārata In his opinion, only the latest portion of the Rāmāyana refers to Takşaśilā and Puşkarāvatī and, barring an interpolated verse of the Ayodhyā-kānda, there is no reference to the Buddha or his followers. The poem does not mention any king of the Lunar dynasty after Puru, although it knows Hāstinapura and Kuru-jāngala On the other hand, Dr. Chatterjee observed, the Mahābhārata not only contains the Rāma legend as described in the Rāmāyaṇa, but also mentions the poem itself. According to Dr. Chatterjee, almost the entire poem was completed before the days of the Buddha and Mahavira He also referred to the Dasaratha-jātaka which, according to him, is nothing but a highly distorted version of the Rāmāyana.

Prof D C. Sircar observed that both the Buddhists and the Jains purposely distorted stories found in Brāhmanical literature and no reliance can be placed on their versions. Prof. Sircar did not accept Dr. Chatterjee's argument based on what he called argumentum ex silentio and argued in favour of the dates of the two epics as proposed by Hopkins and Winternitz, viz. the Mahābhārata composed between the 4th century BC and the 4th century AD and the Rāmāyana between the 2nd century B.C. and the 2nd century A.D. In connection with the Dasaratha-jātaka, Dr. Chatterjee pointed outthat it gives 16.000 years as the period of Rāma's reign while the

Rāmāyana puts the figure as 11,000 Sri D. K. Biswas observed that a comparative study of the Brāhmaņical, Buddhist and Jain versions of the stories would be interesting.

3. Dr. S. P. Singh read a paper on the antiquities from Bhelavar (Gaya District, Bihar). He was of the opinion that some of these antiquites belong to the Gupta age as they contain writing of that period. Some of the potsherds, according to him, belong to the pre-NBP times. He exhibited the potsherds and some other NBP pieces. He also displayed 5 silver and 3 copper punch-marked coins and 7 cast copper coins. He next exhibited some inscribed clay balls, which bore personal names one of which was Devacandramittravatu written in Gupta characters Dr. Singh thought that this person was probably a distant scion of the Mitra dynasty.

Prof. D. C. Sircar thanked Dr. Singh for bringing to light such interesting antiquities. Both Prof. Sircar and Sri D. K. Biswas, however, took Devacandramitra to be a private individual

[The inscribed terracotta balls from Bhelāvar have been published above, pp 17 ff.]

4. Prof. D C. Sircar read his paper entitled 'Nigama and Sreni' in which he revised some of his old views and propounded a few fresh theories. He pointed out that records like the Damodarpur plates speak of an adhikarana which was a pañcāyat-type institution and consisted not only of the Nagaraśresthin, Sarthavaha, Prathama-Kulika and Prathama-Kāyastha but some other members and resembled the Cauthiya of Rajasthan, which is headed by the Nagarseth and consists of members like the Patel and the Patwari In Prof. Sircar's opinion, the institution called adhikarana is the same as the nigamasabhā mentioned in a Nasik inscription of 120 A.D, which suggests that such a sabhā exercised some sort of jurisdiction over the śrenis or guilds. The same state of things is further known from a Nagarjunikonda inscription which speaks of the nigama (i.e. nigama-sabhā) headed by the Sresthin. The inscription records the construction of a devakula and sthala by a lady and the creation of an endowment by her for their upkeep by depositing money in certain guilds. A passage of this inscription is now interpreted by Prof. Sircar to mean that, if the śrenis or guilds accepting the deposits of aksaya-nivi (permanent endowment) do not perform their part of the contract, the nigama (nigama-sabhā) headed by the Srestin should compel them to do it. His old suggestion, Prof. Sircar observed, that the citrana (white washing, etc.) of the devakula and sthala would have to be done by the creator of the endowment is palpably wrong. Sri D Mukherjec wanted to know why it should be regarded as wrong, and Prof. Sircar said, "Because this is obviously one of the purposes for which the endowment was created. Moreover, no personal, and therefore temporary, arrangement would have served the purpose of the creation of the devakula and sthala." Prof. Sircar further observed how nigama (literally, a township) and nagara (literally, a town) gradually assumed, in the medieval period, the meanings of the mercantile population or corporation of a township or town.

XXXIV

Thursday, the 18th September, 1969

Present: Prof. D. C Sircar, M.A, Ph.D. (in the chair); Sri D. Mukherjee, M.A; Dr. A. N. Lahiri, M.A., D.Litt.; Dr. S. K. Mıtra, M.A., LL.B., D.Phil.; Sri D. K. Biswas, M.A.; Sri R. K. Bhattacharya, M.A.; Dr. Sm. K. Saha, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay, M.A., LL.B., D.Phil.; Dr. D. R. Das, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. N. N. Bhattacharya, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. A. K. Chatterjee, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. S. P. Singh, M.A., D.Phil.; Sri B. P. Mishra, M.A.; Sm. S. Das, M.A.; Sm. S. Bandyopadhyay, M.A.; and others.

Proceedings: Dr. S Bandyopadhyay read his paper entitled 'Coin-names associated with Places' in which he dealt with two classes of names, viz. (i) Ila-kkāšu, Cīna-kkanakam and Mevādyā nāṇā, named after the Ilam, Cīna and Mevāda countries, and (ii) coin-names like Lokkiya-vīsā, Lokki-gadyāṇa and Nellūr-mādai and Balotra mentioned previously in a note by Prof D. C Sircar, and the Nellūr-puḍu-mādai minted at Nellore, the Navagrāma-dranma minted at Navagrāma, and the Gokaṇa-gadyāṇa, Gokaṇa-rūka and Gokaṇa-singu-rūka which, as he pointed out, were either named after Gokaṇa, the well-known place of pilgrimage in the South, or after a person of that name. According to Dr. Bandyopadhyay, the coin mentioned as Kaduri-Gokaṇa-singa-ruka, known from a Kākatīya record, was probably a coin of one Gokaṇa and bore the representation of a lion, while Gokaṇa's native place called Kaduri was probably the same as Kaduripura of the Jedcherla inscription

- Prof. D. C. Sircar pointed out the difference between coins described as Chinese or Ceylonese money and those minted in a locality like Devagrāma. He further observed that the Nellūr-puḍu-māḍai was similar to the Nellūr-mādai coins minted at Nellore
- 2 Dr A K Chatterjee read his note entitled 'The Kathāsaritsāgara on Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Life'. He said that the work delineates a sophisticated society in which gambling, theft, prostitution and various kinds of frauds were in practice. He pointed out that even the persons belonging to the highest caste were not free from these vices and that a Brāhmana named Vasubhūti is described as Caura-camūpati, i.e. the leader of the band of robbers. Dr Chatterjee further said that women are painted in dark colour, though there are

also references to virtuous ladies. He showed that there are descriptions of ship-wrecks, horrors of famine and hardship of the people.

- Prof. D. C. Sırcar observed that most of the said characteristics of society are not only noticed in other works, but are even now noticed in the Indian society. He did not agree with Dr. Chatterjee's view that Somadeva's Kathāsaritsāgara is a literal translation of Guṇāḍhya's Brhatkathā, because, in Prof. Sırcar's opinion, the Vikramāditya stories could not have developed in the days of Guṇāḍhya who floruished at the Ṣātavāhana court long before the Gupta Vikramādityas. Sri D. Mukherjee observed that the Paisācī Prakrit in which the Brhatkathā was composed was different from Mahārāṣṭrī, the Prakrit of the Maharashtra region. Prof. Sırcar said that Paisācī exhibits both Dravidian and Iranian influences.
- 3. Sri B. P. Mishra read his paper entitled 'Mythological Importance of a Verse occurring in the Yajurveda' in which he commented on the view that Vedic Ganapati and Nidhipati were not identical with Ganesa and Kubera respectively. He argued that the name Ganapati occurs in the Rgveda as an epithet of Indra and Brahmanaspati, though it may not be the same as Ganapati of the Yajurveda. Sri Mishra pointed out that the Vājasaneyī Sarihitā mentions Ganapati along with Priyapati and Nidhipati, and the Rudrādhyāya mentions him with Senānī, while, in the Maitrāyanī Sarihitā, Ganapati appears with elephant's head and should, therefore, be regarded as identical with Ganesa. In Sri Mishra's opinion, the elephant's head of Ganesa may be due to the demoniac characteristics of Rudra-Siva with whom he was associated. He regarded Priyapati as the same as Kāmadeva.
- Prof. D C Sircar observed that, on the coins of Huvişka who flourished in the second century A.D., a god resembling Siva Tripuıāntaka is called Ganeśa, while the elephant-headed Ganeśa has not been traced earlier than the latest sections of the Mahābhārata, generally assigned to he fourth century A.D In his opinion, Kubera was originally the protector of the Northern quarter and only later became the god of wealth Sri D. K. Biswas said that the Vedic concept of particular gods should not be confused with their description in the Puranas He pointed out that, in the Vedic literature, Yami was the sister of Yama; but according to the Puranas, Yama's sister is Yamuna, a quite different character He also said that mere verbal similarity of names is not enough to prove identity. Sri R. K. Bhattacharya did not accept Sri Mishra's identification of Privapati with Kāmadeva because there is no support for this in the Puranas. Sri Mishra said that Monier-Williams recognises the word in the sense of 'the lord of the beloved or desired', i.e. Kāmadeva.
- 4. Dr. A N. Lahiri read a note on 'A Unique Commemorative Coin of Devamānikya'. He said that the Rājamālā account of Devamānikya, son of Dhanyamānikya, is obscure, but that two of his

tankas bearing the obverse legend srī-srī- Devamāṇikyadeva-śrī-Padmā-vatīdevyau, and the Tripurā lion and the date Saka 1448 on the reverse, are known. Dr. Lahiri referred to another coin of Devamāṇikya recently collected by a Calcutta dealer, which bears the legend Suvarṇagrāma-vijayi-śrī-śrī-Devamāṇikya-śrī-Padmāvatyau, and the date Saka 1450. He pointed out that the coin commemorates the conquest of Suvarṇagrāma (Dacca District), a stronghold of the Sulṭān of Bengal, by the Tripurā king. Prof D C. Sircar observed that the coin is valuable for the reconstruction of the history of Tripurā, for which the Rājamālā, written about the 18th century in his opinion, is often not of much help

- 5. Prof. D. C. Sircar read two of his notes entitled (1) 'National Museum Image Inscription of the time of Mahīpāla and (2) 'Cleveland Museum Image Inscription of Year 313'. A photograph of the first inscription engraved on a bronze figure of Vișnu, now in the National Museum, New Delhi, was received by Prof. Sircar from Dr. U P. Shah of the Oriental Institute, Baroda for offering his reading and interpretation Prof. Sircar read and translated the inscription as follows: (1) [Symbol.] Rājādhirāja-paramesvara-śrī-Mahipāladeva- (2) (2) rāje Mahāvodha-grāme Muvustikā -mahatama-Vasyadervā-su- (3) ta-Välikäya devadharmmo=yah (Rājādhirāja-paramesvara-srī-Mahīpāladeva-räjye Mahabodhi-grame Muvusthika-mahattama-Vasyadeva-suta-Bālikāyāh devadharmo='yam'), "This [image] is the religious gift of Bālikā, the daughter of Vasyadeva, the headman of the village of Mūvusthikā, [installed] at the village of Mahābodhi during the reign the illustrious Rājādhirāja-Paramesvara Mahīpāla" Thus the epigraph may be assigned to the reign of the Pala king Mahīpala I (c. 985-1035 A.D.) of Bengal and Bihar. Prof. Sircar suggested that the image was manufactured in the Gaya region and that the inscription points to the existence of Brahmanical shrines at Mahabodhi or Bodhgayā which is a famous Buddhist holy place.
- 6. Photographs and inked impressions of the second inscription, engraved on the pedestal of a bronze image of the Buddha, were received by Prof. Sircar from Dr. Stanislaw Czuma of the Department of Oriental Art, The Cleveland Museum of Art, Ohio, U.S.A., for offering his views on it. Prof Sircar read and translated the inscription as follows: (1) [Symbol.] Deyadhammo=yani Laditagrāme Yamkhalli[yā]re Šā°-bhikṣunyā (2) Parisuddhamatyā yad=attra puṇyani tad=bhavatu sarvva-satvā(ttvā)nāñ=ca (3)[a]nuttara-sarvva-jñā-jñān-āvāptaye || Sanivat (4) 300 10 3 || [Chaitya]kūta-Jina-banna-vihāre pūrvva-bh-ūddesse(se) [||] (5) piṇdakena bhojanam karttavya-(m*) || "This [image] is the religious gift of the Buddhist nun (Ṣākya-bhikṣunī) Parisuddhamati Whatever religious merit acrues to it, let it be for the attanment of the supreme knowledge of the All-knowing (Buddha) by all beings. In the year 313. In the land lying

in the east at the Banna-vihāra of the Caityakūṭa-Jina. The feeding (bhojana) [of the deity] has to be done by means of alms (pindaka)." Prof. Sircar pointed out that the year 313 should be referred to the Gupta era so that the date of the inscription is 632 A.D. $S\bar{a}^{\circ}$ stands for $S\bar{a}kya$. The image was installed near the Banna-vihāra (probably Sanskrit $Parna-vih\bar{a}ra$, 'thatched monastery') in which the Caityakūṭa-Jina (Buddha) was worshipped Because the poor nun Parisuddhamati failed to make any provision for daily worship of the deity, she stipulated that the naivedya offerings should have to be made out of whatever was received as alms.

Prof. Sircar pointed out that this dated inscription is important for its palaeography. He said that the inscription should be assigned to the eastern part of the Indian sub-continent (including Nepal) and that this is indicated by the letter sa which resembles its form as noticed often in the East Indian epigraphs of the 6th and 7th centuries A.D., e g., the records of Dharmāditya, Gopacandra, Şaśāńka and Jayanāga. Initial a suggests a date between the Bodhgaya inscription (588 A.D.) of Mahānāman and the Aphsad inscription (c. 672 A.D.) of Adıtya-The older tripartite form of ya is generally found in epigraphs earlier than the Bodhgaya inscription; but it is also noticed in a few later epigraphs of the early part of the seventh century, e.g., the Dubi plates of Bhāskaravarman. Ka (cf. pindakena) of the round-back type is found in the Bodhgayā inscription and later records; but la is of the type as found in the Faridpur plates of Dharmāditya and Gopacandra. The forms of 3, 10 and 100, slightly later than those in this inscription, are found in the Pratihara and Nepal epigraphs Considering all these points, the palaeography of the inscription may be regarded as suiting the date 632 A.D. quite well.

There was some discussion on Prof. Sircar's papers in which Sri D. Mukherjee, Dr. D. R. Das and others took part.

[The first inscription has not yet been published by Dr. Shah; but the second epigraph has recently been briefly noticed in *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, February, 1970, pp. 61 ff.]

XXXV

Thursday, the 9th October, 1969.

Present: Prof D. C. Sircar, M.A., Ph D. (in the chair); Dr. A. N. Lahiri, M.A., D Litt.; Sri D. K. Biswas, M.A.; Sri R. K. Bhattacharya, M.A.; Dr Sm. K. Saha, M.A., D.Phil; Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay, M.A., LLB, D. Phil; Dr. N. N. Bhattacharya, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. A. K. Chatterjee, M.A., D Phil.; Dr. S. P. Singh, M.A., D Phil.; Sri B. P. Mishra, M.A.; Sri R. K. Billorey. M.A.; Sri M. S. S. Mohana

Nehru, M.A.; Sm. A. Bandyopadhyay, B.A.; Sm. M. Mukhopadhyay, M.A; and others

Proceedings: Sri R. K. Billorey read his paper entitled "Achaemenian Elements in Mauryan Court Art" in which he pointed out that the Achaemenian influence was purely technical and quite insignificant. As regards the participation of foreign craftsmen in the construction of the Maurya emperor's palace at Pățaliputra and of the Aśokan pillars, there is no definite evidence. The Indian artist, according to Sri Billorey, had his early training in the indigenous school while the development of his characteristics was the result of his experience gathered later in life. The role of the employed craftsmen, he observed, was restricted to that of mere execution. He further opined that the first step taken by the Indians in the field of art was a steady self-development, and indigenous hands were responsible for clearing the path and finding the way. Sri Billorey was inclined to accept the view that the Mauryan polish was an indigenous development though the problem of its disappearance immediately after Maurya rule remains unsolved.

Prof. D. C. Sircar observed that Achaemenian influence is quite clear on the Aśokan edicts in the words dipi and nipiśta and the preamble Devānāmpriyah Priyadarśī rājā evam=āha, so that it is not at all impossible that Mauryan art was likewise influenced to some extent. Sri D. K. Biswas observed that Sri Billorey was not denying that fact. The disappearance of the Mauryan polish immediately after the Mauryas, Prof. Sircar said, may suggest that it came from outside. Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay deplored that the cause of the disappearance is not satisfactorily explained. Sri Biswas believed that there was some script before Aśokan Brāhmī and referred in this connection to Kauţilya's Arthaśāstra. Prof. Sircar referred to Pāṇini's reference to the Yavana writing and also observed that the Brāhmī alphabet may have been fabricated out of the pictographic Harappan writing just as the Japanese alphabet was created out of the Chinese writing

2. Dr. A. K. Chatterjee read his note entitled 'Paundra Väsudeva', whom he regarded as an important religious and political rival of the Vṛṣṇi hero Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva. Dr. Chatterjee quoted passages from the Vṛṣṇu, Bhāgavata and Harivaniśa Purāṇas to show that Pauṇḍra Vāsudeva had his own devotees and that he had entered into an alliance with Jarāsandha of Magadha and Siśupāla of Cedi against the wily Vṛṣṇi hero. According to Dr. Chatterjee, Kṛṣṇa, in spite of his success against Siśupāla and Jarāsandha, could not kill the Pauṇḍra king, and the latter is mentioned at several places of the Mahābhārata. Pauṇḍra Vāsudeva's name is also absent in the long list of Kṛṣṇa's victims given in the Vana-parvan and other places of the epic. Dr. Chatterjee was not prepared to accept the testimony of the later

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Paurānas according to which Paundra Vāsudeva was killed by Kṛṣṇa on the battlefield, the works being written by zealous devotees of Kṛṣṇa.

- Prof. D. C. Sircar pointed out that the silence of the Mahābhārata about the slaughter of Paundra Vasudeva by Krsna does not prove that the Puranic statements to that effect are wrong. In the first place, Prof. Sircar said, it is a fallacious argument called argumentum ex silentio. He further observed that, as H. C. Raychaudhuri suggested, the Mahābhārata in its present form does not appear to contain all the episodes of the earlier recensions Prof Sircar regarded the representation of Paundra Vasudeva as the king of Karusa (modern Shahabad District, Bihar) and Kāśī as due to confusion, since an inscription of the Maurya age suggests the location of Pundranagara, i.e. the capital city of the Pundras, at Mahasthan in the Bogra District of North Bengal, now in East Pakistan. In Prof Sircar's opinion, the Paundras were living in North Bengal from very early times. Sri R. K. Bhattacharva said that Paundra Väsudeva was not a kinsman of the Cedi king Sisupala. Sri B P. Mishra enquired whether the Mahābhārata mentions the name of Paundra's father as Vasudeva Dr Chatterjee replied in the negative.
- 3. Dr A. N. Lahırı read his paper entitled 'A Commemorative Coin of King Vijayamānikya I of Tripurā'. He referred to three: series of Vijayamānikya's coins issued to commemorate his holy bath in the Brahmaputra, the Laksa and the Padmävatī (Padmā) newly found coin commemorating Vijavamānikya's 'holy bath', in the Padmā is a round silver Tanka (weighing about 165 grains), with a Siva-linga on the obverse in a small lined square with the following legend in Bengali characters-Padmāvatī-snāyi-viśveśvara-śrī-Vijayadevaśrī-Vākdevyau. On the reverse of the coin, there is, on a square throne supported by eight lions (four of which are clearly visible), the fourhanded Visnu being raised by Garuda and attended by two human beings on either side. The date is given as Saka 1485 below the throne. The coin, Dr Lahiri pointed out, is important, since the concept of Visnu raised by his vāhana Garuda is unique. He observed that Vijayamānikya I ruled upto Saka 1485 which must have been the last year of his reign since a coin of his son Anantamānikya is dated in Saka 1486.

Prof Sircar referred to a copper-plate charter of Vijayamāṇikya dated Şaka 1410 which he had published several years ago. Considering the date of Vijayamāṇikya suggested by his coins, there are two possibilities in respect of the said inscription: either the document is a forgery or there was a different Tripurā king named Vijayamānikya who ruled for a short time about Şaka 1410.

Dr. Lahiri was inclined to regard the charter as spurious; but Prof Sircar was doubtful about it because the rent-free ownership of no less than seven villages was created by the record, and the fraudulent creation of such a big Brahmottara estate in the late medieval period was not easy to pass as genuine Moreover, how can we explain the mistake in the date? Prof. Sircar did not attach much importance to the silence of the Rājamālā. As regards the representation of Viṣnu held up by Garuḍa, he referred to a similar representation above an inscription of Saka 1479 discovered at Zampi in the Tiddim Sub-Division, Falam District, Chin Hills, Burma. Dr. Lahiri referred to the four queens of Vijayamāṇikya as Vijayā. Lakṣmī, Sarasvatī and Vāgdevī. He also referred to the legend on some other coins which yield the names of three queens as Jayā, Lakṣmī and Gaurī. Dr. S. P Singh said that the figures taken by Dr. Lahiri to be lions may be those of horses

Prof. Sircar observed that the animals represented on the Zampi stone are not lions.

[The paper has been published above, pp. 23ff.]

XXXVI

Thursday, the 27th November, 1969.

Present: Prof. D. C. Sircar, M.A., Ph.D (in the chair); Sri D Mukherjee, M.A.; Dr S. K. Mitra, M.A., LL.B., D.Phil.; Sri D K. Biswas, M.A.; Sri R. K. Bhattacharya, M.A.; Dr. Sm. K. Saha, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr S. Bandyopadhyay, M.A. LL.B., D.Phil.; Dr. D. R. Das, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. N. N. Bhattacharya, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. A. K. Chatterjee, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. S. P. Singh, M.A., D.Phil.; Sri B. P. Mishra, M.A.; Sm. A. Majumdar, M.A.; Sri M. S. S. Mohana Nehru, M.A.; Sm. K. Goswami, M.A.; Sri R. K. Billorey, M.A., and others.

Proceedings: Prof. D.C. Sircar referred to the recent death of the great French Orientalist Prof. G. Coedès, and the persons present paid their respectful homage to the departed savant by standing for two minutes in silence. Sri A. C. Chakravarti, the latest pupil of Prof. Coedès read a note on the career and activities of the Professor.

2 Sri R. K. Billorey read a note entitled 'Character of Maurya Art' According to him, the art of the Maurya period should not be viewed as an isolated phenomenon, but rather was a continuation of the pre-Mauryan art tradition. The Maurya art, Sri Billorey observed, is not homogeneous, although, in some of its specimens, we find a creative fusion of different trends

Sri D. K Biswas wanted to know the specimens exhibiting a synthesis of different art traditions in the Mauryan art. Sri Billorey replied that such synthesis is discernible in the crowning lions belonging to the early phase such as the Basarh-Bakhira and Lauriya-Nandangarh pillars.

- Prof D. C. Sircar suggested that geographical factors may be responsible for the heterogeneous character of the art in the Maurya period. Sri Biswas said that the difference between the Dhauli and Kalsi elephants may also be due to the taste and preference of the artists and not to the fact that they belong to different art traditions.
- 3. Sri B P. Mishra then read a note entitled 'Some Minor Factors responsible for the Development of Purāṇic Legends' in which he discussed the influence of Vedic legends on the mythology of the Purāṇas. According to Sri Mishra, almost all the epico-Purāṇic characters exhibit the influence of the Vedic gods, the actions of the former being similar to those of the latter. The Purāṇic poet who recounted the story regarding the levelling of the earth by Pṛthu had certainly in mind the Rgvedic story of Indra's levelling of the earth. The Ahalyā and Amrtamanthana stories of the epics and Purāṇas have likewise their germs in the Vedic literature.

Prof. Sircar agreed that some of the epico-Purānic legends have their origin in the Vedic tradition, although some of Sri Mishra's arguments appeared to him somewhat far-fetched. While referring to some late traditions as resulting from confused ideas, Prof. Sircar mentioned a stanza enumerating the objects arising from the churning of the ocean by the gods and demons, in which the Uccaihśravas is described as seven-faced. Sri Mishra said that, as the Uccaihśravas is the horse of the Sun-god and as the traditional number of horses drawing the chariot of that deity is seven, these two ideas may have been combined in the said epithet Prof. Sircar, however, pointed out that the Uccaihśravas was Indra's horse, not the Sun-god's, though the confusion between seven horses and a horse with seven faces could have been probable

- 4 Dr. S P Singh then read his paper on 'Discovery of Śrī-Vigraha Coins in Bihar', in which he criticised the views of those who assign the coins to Bhoja I and also those who prefer to regard them as Pāla coins. He pointed out that Bhoja I never assumed the title of Śrī-Vigraha. Dr. Singh further argued that no coins of the Pālas have so far been discovered According to him most of the coins of the Śrī-Vigraha type found in Bihar and elsewhere are close imitations of the Ādivarāha-dramma of Bhoja I, so that the coins may have been imitation money issued by the moneyers.
- Dr S. Bandyopadhyay said that he had offered similar suggestions about the Srī-Vigraha coins in a paper read at the Annual Numismatic Conference held at Patna in October, 1969, and that Dr. Singh's paper contained mostly a summary of well-known views of numismatists. Prof Sircar observed that the Srī-Vigraha coins were probably in circulation for a long time and that Dr. Singh may be right in suggesting that they are mostly imitation coins issued by moneyers But he pointed out that the original issuer of the Srī-Vigraha or Vigra-

hapăla and Vigrahatunga coins cannot be identified in the present state of our knowledge.

5. Prof D. C Sircar read his paper on 'Rāmagupta of the Vidiśi Inscriptions' which dealt with the Vidisa epigraphs engraved on the pedestal of three images of the Jain Tirthankaras (two of Candraprabha and one of Puspadanta) which are stated to have been caused to be made by Mahārājādhirāja Rāmagupta under instructions from the Jain mendicant Cella. The inscriptions, Prof. Sircar observed, have been published in the Journal of the Oriental Institute (March, 1969) wherein the king has been identified with Ramagupta who, according to the Devicandiagupta tradition, was the Gupta emperor of Magadha about 376 AD. This is based primarily on the supposition that the characters of the records are similar to those of the Sanchi inscription of Candragupta II (376-413 A.D.). Prof. Sircar discussed the palaeography of a number of letters in the Vidisa inscriptions and observed that the epigraphs cannot be assigned to any date earlier than the sixth century A.D.; so that Rāmagupta may have been a scion of the Later Gupta dynasty of East Malwa, founded by Krsnagupta about the close of the fifth century A.D. He pointed out that, unlike the Imperial Guptas, who were worshippers of Visnu, Ramagupta, whose copper coins and inscriptions have been found only in East Malwa and who was apparently a local ruler of the Malwa region, was a Jain Sircar further observed that Rāmagupta can be regarded as a scion of the Imperial Gupta dynasty only when we discover his gold coins of the Gupta fabric and his inscription or seal representing him as the descendant of a known member of the Gupta family, because the details of the theme of even a 'historical' drama like the Devicandragupta are not often quite unhistorical.

On an examination of the illustrations of the said inscriptions, Sri D K Biswas agreed with Prof. Sircar that the characters are much later that c. 376 when the king responsible for them is supposed to have flourished. Sri A. C. Chakravarti observed that the writing appears to belong to the seventh century A.D.

[The paper has been published above, pp 145 ff]

XXXVII

Thursday, the 22nd January, 1970.

Present: Prof. D. C. Sircar, M.A., Ph.D. (in the chair); Sri D. Mukherjee, M.A.; Dr. A. N. Lahiri, M.A., D.Litt; Dr. S. K. Mıtra, M.A., LLB, D.Phil; Sri D. K. Biswas, M.A.; Dr. Sm. K. Saha, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay, M.A., LLB., D.Phil.; Dr. D. R. Das, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. N. N. Bhattacharya, M.A., D.Phil; Dr. A. K. Chatterjee, M.A., D.Phil; Sm. S. Das. M.A.;

Sm S. Bandyopadhyay, BA; Sn M. S. S Mohana Nehru M.A.; and others.

Proceedings: Prof. D. C. Sircar read an obituary note on the late Dr B C. Law which was followed by another obituary note on the late Dr B. B. Majumdar written by Dr. B. P. Mazumdar and read out by Dr. S. K. Mitra.

- 2. Dr. A. K Chatterjee then read his note on 'Theft in Ancient India'. He referred to cattle-lifting which was widely prevalent since Vedic times, the Rgveda using for it the term steya. Dr. Chatterjee pointed out that thieves included persons of all castes and communities. He quoted instances from literary works showing that even Brāhmaṇas and Ksatriyas sometimes adopted theft as a profession. In this connection he mentioned the Brāhmaṇa Vasubhūti described in the Kathāsaritsāgara as a robber. Dr. Chatterjee further observed that the Law-books prescribe for the thieves of higher social status and position greater penalties than those of inferior castes and position. He then referred to the well-known Mrcchakaţika passage speaking of Kārttikeya as the favourite deity of thieves and robbers. Dr. Chatterjee maintained that, in ancient India, unlike Egypt or Greece, there was no special robber caste
- Sri D. Mukherjee observed that there were actually robber castes in South India. Dr. Chatterjee replied that such castes sprang into existence in the medieval period and added that he had occasion to mention some such castes in his unpublished thesis entitled Origin and Development of the Cult of Skanda-Kārttikeya in Ancient India. Dr. D. R. Das observed that there are epigraphic references to cattle-lifting Prof D. C. Sircar drew Dr Chatterjee's attention to his own notes on theft and robbery and to the Sanmukhakalpam a work on topics including the said subject, on which Sri D. Mukherjee spoke at a previous Monthly Seminar of the Centre. Prof. Sircar observed that many of the points raised by Dr. Chatterjee had been previously discussed He advised Dr. Chatterjee to make an intensive study of any aspect of the subject even though a comprehensive thesis on theft and robbery in ancient India was ready for submission for the D. Phil degree of Calcutta University by a youngman named K. P. Hore.
- 3 Dr. A. K Chatterjee then read another note entitled 'From Somadeva to Shakespeare' in which he discussed the similarity of a story found in the Kathāsaritsāgara (II. 554 ff.) with the story of Imogen told by Shakespeare in his well-known comedy Cymbeline and that of Ginevra appearing in Boccaccio's Decameron (Book II. Novel 9). Dr Chatterjee pointed out that the similarity of the character and actions of the heroines in the above-mentioned stories are too striking to be accidental. In all the stories, the heroine takes the disguise of a boy and comes out of her trouble as pure, and her honesty is yindicated and the villain shamed or punished, and she gets

her husband back. The hero also, in all these stories, makes an initial slip, but realises his mistake afterwards. All the stories speak of a ruler who comes to the rescue of the insulted and injured. Dr. Chatterjee finally observed that the Indian story of the virtuous wife and her husband probably reached Europe through merchants and travellers in the Middle Ages.

- Prof D. C. Sircar drew Dr. Chatterjee's attention to Penzer's excellent note on the said motif in his edition of Tawney's translation of the Kathāsaritsāgara (The Ocean of Story). He pointed out that Penzer's note speaks of a number of stories of the same type including the one in the Decameron
- 4. Prof. D. C. Sircar then exhibited the photograph of an inscription found at the village of Zampi in the Tiddim Sub-Division of the Falam District, Chin Hills, Burma He also displayed the photograph of an engraving above the writing, in which Garuda is represented as holding Vișnu above his head, with a number of animals below. He pointed out that the inscription and the engraving were both mentioned by him in the course of discussion on Dr. A N. Lahiri's note on a coin of king Vijayamānikya of Tripurā read at the Monthly Seminar held at the Centre on the 9th October, 1969. Prof. Sircar pointed out that while Dr Lahiri regarded the animals represented on the coins as lions, Dr. S P. Singh thought that they were horses, though the Zampi epigraph seems to suggest that they may be ponies or mules. They appear to be smaller in size than horses while the absence of horns seems to preclude the possibility of their identification with goats. The photographs of the epigraph and engraving were received by Prof Sircar, for study and report, from the Director of Archaeology, Burma, as well as from the Chief Epigraphist in the Archaeological Survey of India The inscription is written in seven lines in old Bengali characters, though the letters are very carelessly formed so that the writing is difficult to decipher At the end of line 5, we have Sakāvadāh (bdāh) 1479 showing that the record was incised in Saka 1479=1557 A.D., which is a date falling in the reign period of king Vijayamānikya of Tripurā At the end of the epigraph in line 7 we have 910 which, however, cannot be regarded as the corresponding date in the Tripura era (counted from 589-90 AD.), Magi or Arakanese era (counted from 638-39 AD) or Manipur (Candra) era (counted from c. 790 AD.) Year 910 of the Magi era would correspond to 1548-49 A D. which is nearest to the Saka date of the record corresponding to 1557-58 AD. In Prof. Sucar's opinion, the inscription records some grant made in favour of a Vaisnava temple of the locality, and the crescent with globular mark above the deity indicates the moon while the eight other globular marks on the two sides of the god represent the eight other grahas. The implication of the presence of nine grahas

in a record of gift is that the gift would last as long as the planets endure.

There was some discussion on the animals represented in the engraving above the inscription.

XXXVIII

Thursday, the 12th February, 1970

Present: Prof. D. C. Sircar, M.A., Ph.D. (in the chair); Sri D. Mukherjee, M.A.; Dr. A. N. Lahiri, M.A., D.Litt.; Dr. S. K. Mitra, M.A., LL.B., D.Phil.; Dr. Sm. K. Saha, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay, M.A., LL.B., D.Phil.; Dr. D. R. Das, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. N. N. Bhattacharya, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. A. K. Chatterjee, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. S. P. Singh, M.A., D.Phil.; Sri B. P. Mishra, M.A.; Sm. A. Majumdar, M.A.; Sri M. S. S. Mohana Nehru, M.A.; and others.

Proceedings: Sri B. P. Mishra read his note on Hanumat and tried to show the divine as well as the demoniac aspect of his character. The divine aspect, Sri Mishra observed, may have developed out of the Vedic conception of Vṛṣākapi. He further argued that Vṛṣākapi is the first monkey who comes into contact with the gods. In the Mahābhārata, Vṛṣākapi is one of the forms of Rudra. Elsewhere Hanumat is said to be an incarnation of Rudra who is closely connected, Sri Mishra suggested, with the Maruts of the Rgveda in which Rudra is the father of the Maruts while, due to metathesis of characterization, Vāyu (i.e. the Maruts) is represented in the Rāmāyaṇa tradition as the father of Hanumat, i.e. Rudra. Sri Mishra further pointed out that Hanumat is a mountain-lifter and that this characteristic may have developed from the Vedic idea of the Maruts causing the mountains to quack

Regarding the demoniac aspects of the divinity, Sri Mishra observed that Hanumat once appears in the Rāmāyana as a rival of Indra, while Vṛṣākapı appears in the Rgveda as subjected to Indrāṇī's anger. Indra struck Hanumat with his vajra and consequently fractured his chin (hanu) and this, Sri Mishra contended, is reminiscent of the story how Vṛṭra's hanu was broken by a stroke of Indra's bolt. The incident of Hanumat going to devour the Sun was regarded by Sri Mishra as inspired by the story of Vṛṭra's encompassing the Sun.

Sri R. P. Majumdar disagreed with Sri Mishra and observed that some resemblance between the characters of Vedic and Purāṇic deities does not prove that they are identical. He referred to Parīkṣit of the Vedic literature, who is certainly not identical with the Purāṇic

character of that name. Sri Mishra replied that he did not identify Vṛṣākapi and Hanumat, but suggested that the idea of monkey attendants and their relation with the gods and human beings might have developed from the former's characteristics. Prof. D. C. Sırcar said that there may have been some relation between Vṛṣākapi and Hanumat, while Sri D. Mukherjee thought that the two characters are quite different

2. Dr. A. K Chatterjee read his note entitled 'Interesting References in the Kathāsaritsāgara' While mentioning certain passages as throwing light on various aspects of ancient Indian life, he first referred to a case of widow-pension not known from any other source. Dr. Chatterjee then commented on the strained relationship between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law as revealed by the work and quoted a verse in this connection. He also cited a case of widowremarriage and a few references to cheats and quacks Finally, he quoted a few verses dealing with various kinds of strange mechanical instruments, but expressed the opinion that most of the instruments may have existed in the author's imagination. Prof. D C. Sircar also regarded the descriptions of the instruments as generally fanciful, but said that the 'earth-machine', which probably meant a kind of automatic lock, may have existed in reality. In this connection, Prof. Sircar also referred to the Rathamusala which is mentioned in the Buddhist literature and was a contrivance making clubs tied to a chariot move when the latter moved. Regarding the widow-pension, Prof. Sircar said that it must have been a case of liberality on the part of the master of the widow's deceased husband. He referred to grants made by kings in favour of the heirs of persons giving up their lives on their behalf and placed them in the same category.

[The note has been published above, pp 152. ff.]

3 Prof. D. C Sircar read his paper entitled 'Number of Ratnas' in which he tried to show that, although the gems are said to be five, nine or eighteen in number and the word ratna is used in late works in the senses of 5, 9 and 18. originally only five ratnas were recognised He pointed out that the conception of the nine gems developed out of the desire of the people to propitiate the nine grahas (planets) in the medieval period. The tradition about the nine gems at the court of the legendary king Vikramāditya, Prof Sircar pointed out, is noticed for the first time in the Jyotirvidābharana of the thirteenth or sixteenth century. In Prof Sircar's opinion, the said tradition is a medieval concoction of no historical value and cannot be early.

There was some discussion on the identification of the gems suitable for propitiating the nine grahas, and Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay drew attention to Thakkura Pherū's $Ratnaparīks\bar{a}$ composed in the thirteenth century Prof. Sircar mentioned the sections on gems in Varāhamihira's $B_f hatsamhlt\bar{a}$ which, however, does not speak of the propitiation of

planets with the help of gems. Sri B. P. Mishra wanted to know the earliest reference to the *Navagraha* and observed, that since pañca is an auspicious number, the conception of pañcaratna was earlier. Sri Mishra also referred to the *Agni Purāṇa* which contains sections dealing with gems.

- 4. Sri R. P. Majumdar read his paper entitled 'Some Late Medieval Temple Inscriptions from Howrah', in which he referred to the Garh-Bhavānīpur Maṇināth temple inscription, dated Saka 1306, the earliest among the epigraphs noticed by him. He also mentioned two inscriptions from the Penrore Siva temple, dated in Saka 1741 and 1713 respectively. Another inscription in six lines noticed by Sri Majumdar is in the Haria Khadgeśvara temple and bears the date Saka 1603. Two more inscriptions, dated Saka 1636 and 1652, were found in the Govindamañca and Siva temple at Gazipur. The Sultanpur Siva temple inscription, Sri Majumdar said, contains twenty lines of writing; but no date is mentioned.
- Prof. D. C. Sircar was doubtful about the reading of the dates especially of the first inscription. He also observed that the inscriptions should be properly studied.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

T

THE IRON AGE IN INDIA by N. R. Banerjee, published by Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi, 1965; pages 264; price Rs. 35.00.

Based primarily on archaeological data, Dr. N. R Banerjee's *The Iron Age in India* is the first comprehensive monograph on the subject. That the writing of such a book has been possible now is a testimony to the progress of archaeological research in India, in which Dr. Banerjee's own excavations have played not an insignificant part.

The problem here is essentially a technological one, an attempt "to produce a well-knit and continuous picture of the technological advance accompanying the use of iron into this land" (p. 2). The attempt unfolds itself in the following pattern: enunciation of the sites and their culture-levels where iron occurs first; determination of their chronology showing one of these iron-bearing levels, the Painted Grey Ware, to be the earliest; the equation of the Painted Grey Ware culture to the Aryans and the elimination of all possible rival claimants; a discussion of the Aryan Problem in general together. with the advent of iron in West Asia; and the final assertion that "the prime responsibility for introducing iron in India and spreading it far and wide within the sub-continent can be squarely fixed on the Aryan endeavour" (p. 239). Interspersed in between are some other chapters, all adding up to the main theme: typological comparison of the early iron objects from India with those from Sialk; iron in early historic India; iron smelting of the Indian primitive tribes as an index of the early methods of working; early Indian literary evidence of the use of iron; distribution of iron-ores; early iron-industry at Uijain; life in the early iron age; and a note on the evidence which has come up since 1962.

The scholarship displayed is admirable. Dr. Banerjee seems to know almost every bit of data and the problems within his range. His acquaintance with the relevant literature, sometimes in German, Dutch and French, seems to be thorough. If occasionally his sense of logic falters as it does in the inclusion of such topics as Harappan architecture and urbanism (p 77) or of such views as Tilak's Arctic home theory about the Aryans (p 133), that is largely due to his preoccupation with bringing out the entire garment of problems and hypotheses one is likely to contend with in this particular part of Indian archaeology. The tabulation of the data supplemented by four tables is meticulous and likely to be helpful to all subsequent workers.

One may, however, disagree with Dr. Banerjee's main hypothesis that the Painted Grey Ware culture of the Upper Gangetic Valley, dated around 1000 B.C., is the earliest iron-bearing level in India and that it represents the Aryans. Of the other early iron-using culture-levels in India, Period II of the Central Indian 'Chalcolithic' sites like Nagda, Bahal, Prakash, Eran, etc., should be equally early. if not somewhat earlier. This is evident not only from a recent C-14 date for this level from Eran, but also from the evidence implicit in Dr. Banerjee's own treatment of the problem. His dating of Nagda II is based on the acceptance of the once suggested archaeological dating for the end of the Navdaloli 'Chalcolithic', i.e. 700 B.C., instead of a C-14 date (which he himself cites, p. 37) raising it to 1000 B.C. at least, possibly earlier If with this we consider C-14 date for the iron-bearing level at Hallur, Mysore, it becomes highly improbable that the Painted Grey Ware culture was the earliest iron-making culture or that it introduced iron in India. Moreover, as has been argued elsewhere (Dilip K. Chakrabarti in Indian Studies: Past and Present, Vol. IX, No. 4, pp. 351-53), the suggested Aryan affiliation of this culture falls through because of a totally madequate typological comparison between the Painted Grey Ware and the Grey wares of West Asia and of an analysis of its subsistence pattern based on rice, pig, and buffalo suggesting a dominant eastern strain and not a western one as its suggested Aryan authorship would indicate. One may also wonder if the dragging in of the Aryans is quite necessary to explain an archaeological phenomenon "since it generally leads one up a blind alley" (Lawrence S. Leshniak, in American Anthropologist, Vol. 69, No. 6, December, 1967, p. 776).

The idea that the Megaliths of South India owed themselves to a diffusion of the Megalithic trait from the west through the Baluchistan cairn-burials, another basic theoretical assumption of the monograph, is also unlikely to find recognition at this stage. As the C-14 date from the beginning of the Megalithic level at Hallur has shown, the initial date of the South Indian Megaliths is likely to be earlier than that of the Baluchistan cairn-burials, though the latter is still elastic. Besides, the two groups still seem to possess exclusive geographical distributions and the reported discoveries of Megaliths in Rajasthan and other areas are still too ambiguous, culturally and chronologically to be depended upon.

But it is not merely with Dr. Banerjee's theories that one may disagree; one may object to his entire approach. The beginning and spread of iron technology must have had far-reaching socio-economic consequences in India as it had elsewhere. (For the economic implication of the iron age on a wider level, cf. Heichelheim, Ancient Economic History, Vol. I, Chapter V, Section A: The Transition to Iron and its Economic Consequences.) Nowhere in the book has this issue been raised

and discussed in a meaningful way. On the contrary, the author allowed himself consistently to be bogged in what Piggott once called 'Indo-European wilderness' (*Proceedings of the British Academy*, 1958, p 305). This perhaps is the most vital point of weakness in Dr. Banerjee's otherwise valuable monograph

DILIP KUMAR CHAKRABARTI

П

EXCAVATION AT DEVNIMORI by R. N. Mehta and S. M. Chowdhary, M. S. University Archaeology Series, No 8, Baroda, 1966; pp. 197 with 68 Plates; Price Rs. 45.00.

Excavated in 1950-63 by the M S. University of Baroda, Devnimori in one of the long narrow valleys of North-Eastern Gujarat is primarily a Buddhist site ranging from the 3rd-4th to the 8th-9th centuries A.D., bounded by mediaeval occupation on the one hand and a choronologically undefined microlithic horizon on the other.

The Buddhist complex seems to have centered around the Great Stūpa (Mahāstūpa, as it is called in one of the inscriptions of the place), two-(or perhaps three-)tiered and with two caskets in the core. Casket II, which is inscribed, contained a cylindrical copper vase, itself containing silk bags, a gold bottle and some organic materials. One of the inscriptions clearly places it in the Year 127 of the time scales of the Kathika rulers, during the reign of one Rudrasena, supposedly Rudrasena III of the third quarter of the 4th century A.D. Four other stupas, all votive, were associated with this primary stūpa and along with them were two monasteries, an apsidal hall, a rectangular structure and a protecting wall. The antiquities unearthed comprise Buddha images, occasionally of the Gandhara affinity, beads, coins and diverse objects of metal and glass. Conspicuous among the pottery are three sherds of amphorae, supposedly of Mediterranean origin and containing "resinous substance formed as a result of sedimentation from the liquid that stood in the pot" (p 77).

The technical aspect of the report reflects faithfully the meticulousness with which the excavations were conducted, though the reproduced photographs seem to leave something to be desired.

As an appendix, Dr Malık has contributed a note on Devnimori, a Microlithic Site of Gujarat,' based not only on the surface occurrences but also on the finds from a trench, dug specifically for the purpose Besides, typological and comparative analysis faithfully done and the statement, "the Devnimori microlithic industry belongs to

the latest of the two phases of the Gujarat Late Stone Age, but without the association of pottery", nothing could justifiably be said because of the absence of suitable geochronological criteria.

DILIP KUMAR CHAKRABARTI

Ш

GERMAN INDOLOGY—PAST AND PRESENT by G. D. Sontheimer and H. V. Stieteneron, published by Shakuntala Publishing House, Bombay, 1969; pages 32, with 2 Plates.

It is well known that Indology owes a great deal to German scholars. In this interesting small book, information on the contribution of Germans to Indological studies has been divided into two parts, the second of which deals with (1) A German Students' Average Curriculum of Indology and (2) List of Seminars and Institutions [in Germany].

The first part of the booklet discusses the subject under the following thirteen heads—(1) The Biginnings of Indology in Germany, (2) Vedic Studies, (3) The Brāhmanas and Ritualistic Literature, (4) The Upaniṣads and Indian Philosophy, (5) Grammar, (6) The Šāstras, (7) Epics and Purāṇas, (8) Drama, Poetry and Edifying Tales, (9) Buddhism, (10) Jainism, (11) Epigraphy and Art, (12) History of Literature, and (13) Modern Indian Languages.

The authors appear to be conscious of the fact that 'some important names have been omitted and many important works have not been cited'. This is probably correct. The following information, e.g., could have been inserted in the section dealing with Philosophy or partly in additional sections on Astronomy, Mathematics or Science:-Georg Thibaut (1848-1914) translated into English the Vedantasūtras in three volumes (1890-1904) and Vidyaranya's Vivaranaprameyasangraha (Indian Thought, Vols I-III, 1907-11) He also translated some works on Indian astronomy and mathematics such as Varāhamihira's Pañcasiddhantika (jointly with Sudhakar Dvivedi) and Śriharşa's Khandanakhandakhādya ('Sweets of Refutation', jointly with Ganganath Jha). His valuable studies in the Sulbasütras, the Jyotisa-vedanga and the Survapralfianti appeared in the Journal of the Asiatic Society. Thibaut served as Registrar of Calcutta University (1907-13) and as its first Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture (1913-14).

There are some misprints, while a few statements of the learned authors do not appear to be up-to-date. Thus they do not seem to know that the English translation of Vol. III of Winternitz's Die

Geschichte der Indischen Literatur was already published in India in two parts (Part I in 1963 and Part II in 1967).

D. C. SIRCAR

IV

\$ILĀLIPISAMGRAHA edited by Candrodaya Vidyāvinoda Bhatṭā-cārya, second edition, published by the Directorate of Education, Tripura, Agartala, 1968, pp. 55 with a few plates.

The Silālipisamgraha is a welcome attempt to collect the stone inscriptions of Tripurā. It was first published in 1904, under the patronage of Mahārājā Rādhākiśora Māṇikya. A few new inscriptions were published later by Samarendracandra Devavarmaṇa in his Tripurār Smṛti. [Devavarmana is a curious distortion of Sanskrit Devavarman; correct in Bengali—Devavarmā.—Ed] In the edition of the book under review, the new inscriptions have been included in the appendix. Apart from these, a few epigraphs published by D. C Sircar in different journals and an unpublished inscription recently found at Purī have also been added to the others in the appendix. Sircar's papers written in English have been translated into Bengali for the present volume. The work of translation and transliteration is, however, quite unsatisfactory. The book also suffers from the lack of a historical introduction and any useful discussion on the contents of the inscriptions.

The intention of Candrodaya Vidyāvinoda was to include in it only the stone inscriptions discovered in the Tripura State, but the second edition contains a few epigraphs discovered in the Tippera District (now in East Pakistan) as well. [It seems that the publishers had no knowledge of the other stone inscriptions (besides a number of copper-plate grants like those of Śridhāraṇarāta, Bhavadeva, etc) found in the said District; e.g. the Mandhuk image inscription of Gopāla II and Nārāyanpur image inscription of Mahīpāla I.—Ed.]

The inscriptions edited in this book mainly deal with the history of the Tripurā royal family and may be helpful in correcting, corroborating and supplementing the evidences of the Rājamālā and other dynastic chronicles. If the inscriptions were presented in the book in a chronological order, as far as possible, it would have been more helpful to a student of history.

Among the mistakes in the translation of D C. Sircar's paper on Vijayamāṇikya's plate, mention may be made of the following The name of the village $C\bar{a}rip\bar{a}d\bar{a}$ is wrongly written as $C\bar{a}rip\bar{a}d\bar{a}$ In the date of this record. viz Saka 1410, fullmoon day of the month of Kārttika, Wednesday, the translator writes Thursday for Wednesday. But the translator exhibits his ignorance more spectacularly when he

speaks of the want of distinction between ba and bha, though Sircar writes ba and va, i.e. what are called in Bengali the $varg\bar{i}ya$ and antastha forms of ba.

Dvitīyā-ṭhākurāṇī, the daughter of Balibhīma, built a temple now called Dutyār-bādī by the local people The inscription on the temple wall could not be read by Candrodaya Vidyāvinoda. D. C. Sircar published its transcript which suggests that Dvitīyādevī was related to one Sujana and that the temple was built in Saka 1621. A serious error in the translation of Sircar's article is that what Sircar writes about the word āśvina (literally, 'related to the Aśvins'), standing for the number 'two', has been misunderstood.

According to the Tripurăsundarī temple inscription, Govindamănikya ruled over Sămba, a country that has been regarded as a mistake for Suhma which some geographers identify with Tippera But Suhma is the same as Rāḍha in the Ajay valley in South-West Bengal. [The inscription has been wrongly read—Ed]

The inscription of Rāmagaṅgāmānikya recently found at Purī was apparently set up by his brother Kāśīcandra Thākura on the occasion of his visit to the Jagannātha temple at Purī. The date of the epigraph is quoted as the year 1226 of the Vaṅga era, corresponding to Saka 1738 or 1816 A.D. [The use of the name of the Bengali Sāl in preference to that of the Tripurā era is interesting.—Ed.]

Much interesting information is often supplied by the inscriptions Govindamānikya is said to have made a golden throne for Girijādevī, when he was a Yuvarāja, in the Şaka year 1571. The image also was made of gold. The Rājamālā is silent about this. At present, this throne is associated with the Caturdaśa-devatā, represented by 14 heads, Generally only three of the heads are placed on the throne for daily worship. During the time of Khārchi Pūjā in the month of Āṣāḍha, all the 14 heads are worshipped.

There is no bibliography and no index in this book.

SM. CHITRAREKHA GUPTA

V

STUDIES IN INDOLOGY, Vol. IV, by V. V. Mirashi, published by Tara Publications, Varanasi, 1966; pages x+229, 14 plates; price Rs 20.00.

This is the fourth volume of Studies in Indology by Professor V. V Mırashı, the well-known Indologist. It contains 28 articles and is divided into two sections—one dealing with Sanskrit literature and another with ancient Indian history.

Section I dealing with Sanskrit literature contains nine articles of which five deal with various problems relating to Kālidāsa, viz. his date (Article No 1), traditions about Vikramāditya and Kālidāsa (No. 2), and the location of Rāmagiri (Nos. 3-4) and Devagiri (No. 5) described in his Meghadūta. In Article No 6, the author has discussed some problems about Bhavabhūti, eg, his birth-place, the location of Kālapriyanātha where his plays were staged, his identity with Umbeka, etc Article No. 7 is on the interpretation of a passage in the Mṛcchakaṭika. Article No.8 deals with the identification of the author of the Nalacampū and the Madālasācampū, while Article No. 9 seeks to fix the lower limit for the date of the Devīmāhātmya. His approach to all the problems is critical and worthy of consideration

Section II contains eleven articles on various topics of ancient Indian history, three notes on the interpretation of some inscriptional passages and five notes on numismatics. In some of the articles dealing with ancient Indian history, the learned author has discussed some newly discovered epigraphic records. Thus, while pointing out the significance of the recently discovered Ahraura inscription of Asoka (Article No. 10), which is but another copy of Minor Rock Edict I, Mirashi shows that the concluding lines of the epigraph. which differs from those of other versions, corroborate the wording and interpretation of the corresponding portion of the Sahasram edict, meaning that this proclamation was made by Asoka when on tour for 256 nights, besides bearing the only reference to the erection of a stupa over the relics of the Buddha by Asoka himself. [The erection of a stūpa is not mentioned in the Ahraura inscription—Ed.] the Chāyāstambha inscription of Mahāksatrapa Kumāra Rupiamma from Pawni (Article No. 12) brings to light the name of a hitherto unknown Mahākṣatrapa. [He was not a Mahākṣatrapa, but a Mahākşatrapa-kumāra—Ed.] In Article No. 14, the author rejects the identification of king Rudrasena of the Devnimori Casket inscription of Year 127 with the Western Ksatrapa ruler Rudrasena I on the ground that the Ksatrapa rulers almost invariably used the title Ksatrapa or Mahāksatrapa on their coins and in inscriptions, while this Rudrasena does not use any of them. He suggests that this Rudrasena might have belonged to the family of the Abhīra king Tśvarasena, since both names end in sena.

Then in some other articles the author has sought to throw new light on records already known. In Article No. 11 entitled 'A Note on the Shahji-kı Dheri Casket inscription', B. N Mukherji's view that Peshwar was known as Kanişkapura is disputed, since the Rājataranginī locates the latter in Kashmir. Though he, like Spooner and others, takes the word Agiśāla as the name of the supervisor of the vihāra, he believes that it was an Indian name ending in śāla, not the Prakrit form of a Greek name. In his note on the Gwalior

Museum inscription of Patangasambhu (Article No. 18) recording the construction of a Saiva temple and the excavation of a tank probably at Ranod, the author points out that Aranipadra, not Ranipadra as held by Kielhorn, was the correct ancient name of Ranod

In two of the articles he discusses the question of certain dates By comparing the manner of dating in the inscriptions of Nahapāna with ancient practices of dating inscriptions, Mirashi has shown (in Article No. 13) that the dates recorded in Nahapāna's inscriptions refer to an era, viz. the Saka era, not to his regnal years. In Article No. 20, the question of the initial date of the Ganga era, as fixed by various scholars between 349-50 A.D. and 772-73 A.D., has been examined and the conclusion that it started about 497-98 A.D. has been arrived at.

Article No. 15 on the Păṇḍarangapallī grant of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Avidheya seeks to bring to light a new Rāṣṭrakūṭa line. In Article No 17 entitled 'A Riddle in the History of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas', Upendra and Meru mentioned in the Bagumra plates of Indra III, Ṣaka 836, have been identified respectively with Kṛṣṇa and Vijayāditya II Prabhumeru, the Bāṇa king of the North Arcot District. In his 'New Light on the Ancient History of Malwa' (No. 16), the author has discussed the identification of kings mentioned in Jinasena's Harivarisapurāna. In Article No. 19, he takes king Jaitugi of the Prince of Wales Museum stone inscription of Ṣaka 1188, as the ruler of Māhima (near Bombay) exercising authority over the Northern Konkan.

Article No. 21 covers three epigraphic notes. The first one shows that the fifth verse in Samudragupta's Eran inscription does not refer to his queen but to goddess Laksmi or the goddess of fortune. The second note on the Sangli plates of Govinda IV, Saka 855, criticises Bhandarkar's interpretation of the verse relating to Rästrakūta Krṣṇa II. The third note gives a different interpretation of the verse regarding Indra in the Sanjan plates of Amoghavarṣa I, Saka 793, and shows that there is no mention of any place called Khetaka which is used there in the sense of a 'shield'.

The last article (No. 22) covers five numismatic notes. In the first one Mirashi corrects Kielhorn's reading catvārim'sat=kānicanadramma-śatam vimśaty-uttaram occurring in the Kanheri cave inscription of Pullaśakti, Śaka 765, by the reading catvārim'śad=iha ekam dramma-śatam vimśaty-uttaram, and shows that there is actually no reference to 'gold drammas' and that Kielhorn's reading has created a wrong notion about the existence of gold drammas. But we may point out that gold coins of some early medieval dynasties like the Kalacuris, the Candellas and the Gāhaḍavālas, were struck on the standard of Attic drachms with a theoretical weight of 67.2 grains Hence the learned author's contention that there were no gold drammas is difficult to uphold. The second, third and fourth notes relate to the

discovery of some Western Kṣatrapa coms in Vidarbha, of which the com of Viśvasena, son of Mahākṣatrapa Bhartṛdāman, is of some importance, since it has for him the title Mahākṣatrapa in place of Kṣatrapa as seen on his hitherto known coins. In the concluding note entitled 'Problem raised by the Finds of Ksatrapa Coins in Vidarbha' Mirashi excludes the possibility of the extension of the Kṣatrapa rule over that region as no evidence to that effect is forthcoming. He thinks that the non-interference on the part of the Vākātakas who had no currency of their own was responsible for the circulation of Kṣatrapa coins in the Vidarbha country, then under the Vākātakas.

The book dealing with different subjects will be of considerable usefulness to the students of Indology.

SM. BELA LAHIRI

VI

COINS OF THE PANDYAS (Numismatic Notes and Monographs, No. 11) by C. H. Biddulph, published by the Numismatic Society of India, Varanasi, 1966; pages 71 with 6 plates; price Rs 10.00.

The late Mr. C. H. Biddulph's monograph entitled Coins of the Pāṇḍyas is a welcome addition to the comparatively scanty literature on South Indian coins in general and the Pāṇḍyan coins in particular Of course, the coins of the Pāṇḍyas were studied in details in Walter Elliot's Coins of Southern India (1886), pp. 119-29, and in T. Desikachari's South Indian Coins (1933), pp. 155-79. But Elliot's book is both out of print and somewhat out of date, and Desikachari's work is practically unobtainable. Since the publication of Biddulph's monograph has also come out the late Dr. Vidya Prakash's monograph entitled Coinage of South India where Pāṇḍya coins have also been dealt with (pp. 52-72). But Vidya Prakash's study of the Pandyan coins being brief, as expected, we shall find Biddulph's Monograph to be of greater usefulness

In the 'Introduction' covering 35 pages the author has discussed all the relevant aspects of the history and coinage of the Pānḍyas. Besides providing historical notes (pp. 7-13), the author has specially dealt with the religion (pp. 4 f.), and cognisances (pp. 6 f.) of the Pāṇḍyas as well as the names and titles of kings as seen on their coins (pp. 13-18). He has also studied Pāṇḍyan 'Gold Coinage' (pp. 19-22) and 'Coinage in Silver' (pp. 22-32). 'Pāṇḍyan Coins issued in Ceylon' have necessarily been discussed (pp. 36 f.). Mr. Biddulph has provided us with the list of Pāṇḍyan coin-legends in Appendix A (pp. 36 f.). Appendix B gives a list of coins which Desikachari published, but which Mr. Biddulph could not illustrate in his monograph. The

'Key to Plates' (pp. 40-71) provides us with the detailed descriptions of, and necessary information about, all the 127 coins illustrated in six tolerably clear plates

The author has taken all care to make the monograph useful both to students and to collectors of Pāṇḍya coins. Mr. Biddulph has studied in details the uninscribed coins attributable to the Pāṇḍyas. But since their symbols, specially those in the nature of cognisances, were also in some cases adopted by peoples other than the Pāṇḍyas, it is not always easy to be sure about their attribution.

The inscribed issues of the Pāndyas present no less difficulty in the matter of definite attribution. They generally bear short legends comprising an epithet or rarely a name. But as a particular epithet as seen on Pāṇḍya coins may apply to more than one king, and as more than one Pāṇḍya king often bore the same name, it is again not easy to be sure of the proper attribution of the concerned coin. This is all the more difficult because of the fact that Pāṇḍya coins do not bear any other sure means of attribution or any definite clue.

There are again other difficulties in the matter of attribution. The coin published in South Indian Coins, p. 170 and Pl. II. 22, may provide a typical example. It has on the obverse the Pāṇdya symbol of 'two fishes separated by a crescent-topped sceptre' and on the reverse 'an umbrella flanked by flags' and the legend, Kodandarāman. It might have been issued by the Pāṇdya king Jatāvarman Sundarapāṇdya III who is called in inscriptions 'a second Rāma in plundering Ceylon'; but, as Desikachari has pointed out (Coins of South India, p. 160), the coin could well have been struck by Śrī-Kodaṇdarāman, son of the Cola king Parāntaka I, who claimed to have defeated the Pāṇḍya king Rājasiriha, as a commemorative piece while governing the vanquished Pāṇḍya country. Biddulph has referred to the problem posed by this coin at p. 14 of his work, but has given us neither its description nor illustration.

The monograph under review is, on the whole, a useful one, and we are sorry that its author, who could have added to our knowledge of South Indian coins by his further studies, is no more.

[Besides typographical errors, the book offers coin-legends usually without diacritical marks—Ed]

A. N LAHIRI

VΠ

KOC-RĀJBAMSĪ JĀTIR ITIHĀS ĀRU SAMSKŖTI (in Assamese) by Ambikācaran Sarkār, published by Ratnapīṭh Prakāśan, Baṅgāigāon, Assam, 1969; pages 170 with some plates and small maps; price R\$ 5.00.

The small book under review attempts to give a short account of the history and cuture of the people called Koc, to whom the name Rājbamśī is now also applied. It is a popular account exhibiting a sort of patriotic approach. The latter part of the book containing a section dealing with the Koc kings, short notes on a few families of ruling chiefs (pp. 95-101), an account of Abhayeśvarī (pp 105 ff), etc, is more useful and interesting than the earlier part which depends mostly on traditions of doubtful value. The concluding section also contains short notes on the language and literature (pp 137 ff.) and architecture and sculpture (pp. 160-66) of the Koc-Rājbarhśī people. As specimens of literature, a few folk songs have been quoted.

In certain matters, the author has not followed other Assamese writers It is well known that most Assamese historians regard the land of the Pundra or Paundra people as having included North Bengal and wide areas of Bihar, which, in their opinion, formed parts of the dominions of the kings of Kamarupa at least from the days of Mahäbhütavarman (c 518-42 A.D.) to those of Bhäskaravarman (c. 600-50 A.D). However, epigraphic evidence proves beyond doubt that the said territory had its headquarters at Mahāsthān in the Bogra District from the age of the Mauryas, covered only the major part of North Bengal and belonged to the Gupta empire down to 543 A.D (date of the latest Damodarpur plate) and was not part of the kingdom of Bhaskaravarman according to contemporary Chinese evidence. We are therefore glad to note that our author quotes the following stanza from Smarta Raghunandana to prove that the Pundra country covered only the Districts of Northern Bengal:-Karatoye sadānīre sarit-śresthe suviśrute

Paundran plavayase nityam papam hara kar-odbhave | (pp. 6-7)

The author thinks that the Pundra or Paundra people of ancient Bengal were Ksatriyas and that they are the ancestors of the present day Koc-Rājbamśīs. Indeed, the Pundras or Paundras were Ksatriyas just like the Yavanas (Greeks), Sakas (Scythians), Pahlavas (Parthians), Cinas (Mongoloid peoples), Dravidas (Dravidians) others, while the claim of the Koc-Rājbamśīs to be their modern representatives reminds us of the same claim preferred by the Pod fishermen of Southern Bengal and may be compared with the claim of the Hadis of Mymensingh to be the same as the ancient Haihaya Ksatriyas. The author of the book is of course silent about the notices on the Koc-Rājbamśīs in the early Census Reports, especially Risley's observations in 1901, for which one may now refer to his work entitled The People of India, 1915 ed., pp. 74-76, 99, 120. An interesting point was the general adoption of the Kāśvapa-gotra by the Koc-Rājbarhśīs without realising that it would involve marriage within the same gotra against the rules followed by the orthodox Brahmanical society. Another point of considerable interest is the wide acceptance of the family name *Barmana* which is a silly and nonsensical adaptation of the Sanskrit name-ending of the Kşatriyas, viz. *Varman* that should of course have been *Barmā* in Bengali (after the 1st Pers. Sing form of Sanskrit *Varman*).

We have noticed many misprints, especially in the quotations of Sanskrit passages, though there may be some errors even in the original Tantras from which they are said to have been quoted.

D. C SIRCAR

VШ

ECONOMIC LIFE IN NORTHERN INDIA IN THE GUPTA PERIOD (CIR. A.D. 300-550) by S. K. Maity, 2nd ed., published by Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1970; pp. 314 with a few maps; price Rs 25.00.

We are glad to note that Dr. Maity's work, the first edition of which was published in 1957, has now appeared in a second revised edition with some additional matter.

The book is divided, as in the earlier edition, into nine chapters, the titles of which are suggestive of their scope-1. Introduction, II Land System, III. Revenue System, IV. Agriculture, Famme, Irrigation, Forestry, Gardening and Animal Husbandry, V. Industry and Industrial Workers, VI. Trade and Commerce, VII. Labour, VIII. Corporate Economic Life, and IX. Currency, Exchange and Moneylending. There are also appendices on the following topics—(i) Economic Life from Varāhamihira's Brhatsamhitā and Brhajjātaka, (ii) Land-sale Records of the Gupta Period, (iii) Gold Content of Gupta Coins, and (1v) Medieval Feudalism and Manorialism versus Ancient Indian Landed Economy. The last of the above four appendices, which has been added in the present edition, originally appeared in the proceedings of the first series of inter-university seminars that was held at the Centre of Advanced Study in Ancient Indian History and Culture. Calcutta University, in December, 1965, and were published under the title Land System and Feudalism in Ancient India, edited by D. C. Sircar, Calcutta University, 1966.

We had occasion to review the first edition of Dr. Maity's work and observed as follows on its merit: "The author has gathered useful information on the subject from various sources and presented them in a readable form. The subject of the study is interesting, and the author's treatment is fairly exhaustive and satisfactory; on some highly controversial problems, his treatment is generally learned and unbiased." Since the old core is there, the good features of the

earlier edition are present in the second. Of late, there have been a number of new books on the economic life of ancient India concerning various areas and periods; but they do not detract from the value of Dr. Maity's work. Of course we do not mean to say that we agree with all the views expressed by Dr. Maity. Indeed, such unanimity of opinion is scarcely expected in works on ancient Indian subjects mainly because the sources offer only vague information which can often be misunderstood or variously interpreted.

A defect of the work under review is the presence of errors of language and printing, and we shall be happy if the author is more careful in correcting the proofs and succeeds in removing them in the next edition.

D C SIRCAR

IX

STUDIES IN NIBANDHAS by Bhabatosh Bhattacharya, published by Indian Studies: Past & Present, Calcutta, 1968; royal 8vo pages iv+114; price Rs. 15.00.

The present work is a collection of the author's papers published during the last three decades. Some portions of the section on Govindānanda are, however, published for the first time. The book covers Eastern and Northern India (including Bengal), Mithilā (North Bihar) and Uttar Pradesh and gives an account of some of the nibandhas composed in these areas between the 12th and 16th centuries of the Christian era. But the treatment of Raghunandana's works is confined to his neglected small work, the Mathapratisthāditatīva, because a separate monograph entitled Raghunandana's Indebtedness to his Predecessors was published by Dr. Bhattacharya some time ago.

The book under review contains six chapters, besides Appendices, Bibliography and Abbreviations. In the First Chapter, the Kryakalpataru of Laksmīdhara-bhatta has been discussed with reference to its place in the Dharmaśāstra literature and its non-utilisation by Amruddha-bhatta and his royal patron, Ballālasena. Special attention has been given to the Dāna-kānda of the same text and, in this connection, Dr. Bhattacharya has made a comparative study of the dāna chapter in Kane's History of Dharmaśāstra, Vol. II, and the second part of Rangaswami Aiyangar's introduction to the Dāna-kalpataru with a view to bringing out the sum-total of the contributions of the two scholars to the dāna literature in general. While dealing with the Tīrtha-kāṇda, Dr. Bhattacharya has attempted a study of Vācaspati-miśra's indebtedness to Laksmīdhara-bhatta, so

far as his Tirthacintamani is concerned. In Chapter II, the Ratnakaras of Candesvara have been discussed and some additional information has been gathered from the Gihastharatnākara published in 1928 and the incomplete Ms of the Suddhiratiakara now preserved in the Government Collection of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, which Kane did not utilise Chapter III deals with the works of Vidyapati Upădhyāya Dr Bhattacharya rightly holds the Gamgāvākyāvalī to be Vidyapati's work though a contrary view has been expressed by J B Chaudhuri. Chapter IV covers the Tirthacintamani of Vacaspati-miśra, which Haraprasad Sastri agnored while writing his preface to the Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss., Vol II: Smrti. Chapter V, spread over forty pages, is devoted to Govindananda Kavikankanācārya It discusses his date, place of residence, and pedigree, and his hitherto-unknown fifth digest, the Kriyākaumudī Varsakriyākaumudī has been discussed in a separate subsection, while his conception of dana, asauca and sraddha and his refutation of Sridatta's views have been likewise dealt with. It also includes an interesting study on food and drink in medieval Bengal as gathered from the works of Ballalasena and Govindananda In Chapter VI, Dr. Bhattacharya summarises the contents of the Mathapratisthātattva.

The last Chapter critically reviews some observations made by S. C. Banerji in his paper entitled 'Smrti-nibandha Literature and Bengal's Contribution' Thus, Dr Bhattacharya thinks that Raghunandana and Govindananda were not exactly contemporaries as supposed by Banerji, but that they were separated by almost a generation; that Aniruddha's date is the beginning of the 14th century and not between the end of the 15th century and the beginning of the 16th; that, besides the four works ascribed to Ballalasena by Banerji, there was a fifth, viz. Vratasāgara; that it was the Adbhutasāgara and not the Dānasāgara which was left unfinished by Ballalasena; that Banerji omitted in his list of Sūlapāṇi's works, the Srāddhaviveka, Prāyaścittatattva and Dīpakalikā; and that the Varsakrtya in Raghunandana's Malamāsatattva does not mean 'rites to be performed in the year', but stands for the work of the same name by Vidyāpati

The monograph bears the mark of sound scholarship and balanced judgement and Dr. Bhattacharya has done a commendable service to Indological research by collecting these very useful papers in one place The present reviewer does not consider himself competent enough to judge the value of some of the suggestions of the learned author. He only wishes that a summary account of Raghunandana's works should have been given for the benefit of the readers. He also notices the absence of reference to Ramanatha Vidyāvācaspati, Pasupati the elder brother of Halāyudha, Ķrīdatta

Upādhyāya, Rudradhara and Rāmakṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭācārya. The absence of an index is again keenly felt.

D. R. DAS

 \mathbf{x}

STUDIES IN EARLY BUDDHIST ARCHITECTURE OF INDIA by H. Sarkar, published by Munshiram Manoharlal, Delhi, 1966; royal 8vo pages viii+120 with 12 plates, 25 illustrations and 2 maps; price Rs. 30.00.

The present work deals with some aspects of the problem regarding the development of Buddhist architecture in India from the sixth century B.C. to about the fourth century A.D. According to the author, it has two main theses to advocate, viz., to show how the Buddhists adopted different types of building plans like elliptical, apsidal, circular and quadrilateral in different periods of their history and how Buddhist architecture, specially after the emergence of different sects and sub-sects, were influenced and conditioned by the doctrine and disposition of a particular school. Clarifying the latter point, it is said that "a sect which did not believe in the worship of Buddha could by no means have a catya-giha for enshrining Buddha image" (p. 1). The statement is confusing for the purpose of the caitya-grha was not to house an image of the Buddha, but a votive caitya As a matter of fact, with the increasing popularity of the worship of the Buddha in human form this kind of shrines gradually disappeared from Indian architecture.

In order to establish his theses, the author plans his book in six chapters entitled, 'The Beginning', 'Elliptical Structures', 'The Stūpa Shrines', 'Taxila', 'Nagarjunakonda', and 'Sects and Archaeological Evidence'. There is also a Select Bibliography and an Index at the end. The First Chapter deals with the literary references to the stūpas raised on the Buddha's relics. An attempt has been made here to show the way in which the two types, viz., the railed vrksacaitya and memorial stūpa were amalgamated by the Buddhists to evolve the typical stūpa architecture The bodhi-grha or structure around the Bodhi tree and monastery have also been brought under discussion. Chapter II covering elliptical structures gives an account of rock-cut caves and linear structures with semi-circular extremities in different parts of India. Reference has also been made to the elliptical structures at Kauśāmbī and Śrāvastī. The author draws an analogy between the elliptical plan of the Gopika cave and the Lohta dormitories of the North-East Frontier and concludes that 'secular concept of elliptical halls predated that of the

shrine or stupa having an identical plan'. The Third Chapter takes into account circular, apsidal and quadrilateral stupa-shrines Some space has been devoted to assess Asoka's contribution to this architectural form. Chapter IV deals with Taxila under the following subtitles: 'Location of the Settlements', 'Lay Worshippers and the Buddhist Sangha', 'Appearance of the Buddha Image', 'the Gihastūpas', 'the Principal Stūpas' and 'General Observations'. A somewhat detailed study of Nagarjunakonda has been made in the Fifth Chapter. Here sects mentioned in the epigraphs and their establishments receive due attention. The Buddhist establishments have been classified according to units (1) consisting of stupa and monastery, (2) of stūpa, monastery and caitya-grha with stūpa, and (3) of monastery and caitya-grha and isolated stūpas. The votive stūpas, stūpas and monasteries are elaborately treated. In concluding the Chapter, the author summarises his findings on the monastic development at Nagarjunakonda In the final Chapter, attempts have been made to trace as to how the ideological differences in the vinaya rules led to the formation of various sects

Dealing with a very significant section of ancient Indian architecture, the book constitutes an important addition to the growing literature on Indology. The author has been able to throw fresh light on many obscure problems. The suggestions that he has made in course of his studies are thought-provoking and deserve serious consideration. But often they do not appear to be quite convincing. Thus, it has not yet been established that the rock-cut apsidal temples penetrated through the western coast into the Buddhist realm of architecture (p 49) On the other hand, there is reason to believe that the apsidal back of the cartya-hall was dictated by the hemispherical shape of the votive stūpa Coomaraswamy has shown the different stages in the evolution of the cativa-grha from a circular one to a rectangular hall with an apsidal end (History of Indian and Indonesian Art, pp. 18f.). The author should have taken into account the manifestly wooden character of early Buddhist architecture which indicates their origin in the local timber constructions. It is also doubtful if the railed vyksa-caitya and the memorial stupa were amalgamated to form the typical stupa architecture. The origin of the fenced stupa has something to do with the cairn-circles known from the proto-historic periods Piggott has dwelt on this problem in an article in the Antiquity, Vol XVII, pp 1 ff. The suggested link between the ancient Indian elliptical structures and the Naga dormitories is again not beyond doubt. Moreover, the elliptical structures unearthed so far do not form part of a typical style and, as such, their construction cannot probably be attributed to any architectural convention. The author's suggestion that the wheel-shaped plan of the stupas at Nagarjunakonda might have some symbolic value (pp.

ntricacies of the Cola Art. The chapter dealing with the polihistory of the Colas is undoubtedly useful to the readers, since rm an idea of the development of their Art, it is indispensable, period of the fruition of that art in India and Ceylon extends, ily speaking, from the beginning of the tenth to the end of the ath century AD. The chapter on Kalà (Art) and its two ins, viz. Citrakalā and Mūrtikalā, are too concise. Since the iry object of the work is to describe the special features of Art, that chapter should have been written with greater details, would have helped the readers in forming a clear idea of the alities of the majestic religious edifices and the superb iconic unities of the Colas in stone and bronze. One fact, however, be admitted that the work affords a pleasant reading from the ning to the end, because of the chasteness of its language and legance of the author's style of writing.

- C D. CHATTERJEE

XII

RĀCĪN BHĀRAT MEM VARŅĀŠRAM-VYAVASTHĀ (in ī) by Sm. Manoramā Jauhari, published by the Bhāratīya i Prakāsan, Vārānasī, 1969, pp. 221; price Rs. 500.

here are only two Chapters in this work. Chapter I deals with Varna-vyavasthā and Chapter II, with the Asrama-vyavasthā of Arvans. Each Chapter is divided into a number of Sections, dealing with a particular aspect of the subject treated in the ter. Thus, there are six Sections in Chapter I and seven, in ter II. Section three of Chapter I has, again, four Sub-Sections Sub-Section of Chapter I, Section III, represents a specialized study e subject, relevant to the Section, and may, therefore, be considered an essential part of the Section The three Appendices in which ma, or Law (in Theory and Practice), relating to the Varnāśramaasthā of the Aryans, has been discussed separately, in the on of the reviewer, complete the study of this interesting subject. idition to the text (pp. 1-202), the work contains Asirvacana, Benedictory Utterances' (a novel feature indeed!) by Pandit nath Kaviraj, the doyen of the Sanskritists in Northern India, vord, Preface, List of Abbreviations, Contents, Bibliography, (pp 210-221), and Corrigenda. The book is thus, complete very respect and the reader misses nothing in it, to form a idea of the subject

ne work, though small in size, presents a graphic picture of the asrama-vyavastha of the Aryans, delineated by an artist of

no mean calibre, who is competent enough to carry out the selfimposed task with confidence. Of individual opinion of the writer, there is none, since her observations are strictly based on the available literary evidence, sifted from the authoritative Sanskrit and Pali texts There are, however, certain important facts which the reviewer cannot possibly ignore. For instance, Sub-Section Four of Section Three in Chapter I, which deals with the subject of Varnasainkara, a major problem of the Aryans, should have been further developed with the help of Balambhatta's commentary on the Mitaksarā, in which the different forms of anuloma and pratiloma marriages have been specified and the social position of the offsprings of such marriages has been fully discussed Again, in Chapter II, the author has thrown much light on the status of women in the Aryan society; but she lost sight of such an important relevant topic as 'Women and the Srauta-rituals' or, in other words, 'Position of Women in the Grauta-sūtras' If the authors' intention had been to describe the Varna and the Asrama organization in a succinct manner, at least such highly important topics should not have been left out of consideration. But, despite a few shortcomings of the aforesaid nature, the work may be considered to be important, interesting, and instructive. We may go even a step further and recommend the republication of this learned work, in Hindi, in different Indian languages, after making necessary elaboration, substantiation, and correction.

C. D. CHATTERJEE

ХШ

GUJARAT: ITS ART HERITAGE (Thakkar Vassonji Madhavji Lectures, 1952) by M R. Majmudar, University of Bombay, 1968, royal 8vo pp. xxiii+iii+168 with 70 Plates and 1 map; price Rs. 4000.

Situated, as it is, in a strategic position, Gujarat was the scene of fusion between local and foreign cultures in different periods of her history. To understand the successive phases in the development of Indian culture one, therefore, cannot avoid following up the history of Gujarat which again has not yet been adequately covered. From this point of view, we welcome the present work which seeks to reconstruct an interesting facet of Gujarat's history

The book starts with an Introduction that gives a short account of Gujarat through the ages. The author speaks of a Greek incursion under Demetrius in Gujarat after the fall of the Mauryas Chapter I entitled 'Cultural Traditions in Gujarat' shows how the elements of various cultures infiltrated into this region and helped developing

a distinct Gujarat culture within the general framework of Indian society. The author recognises four distinct culture zones in Gujarat, viz. (1) Kaccha, (2) Saurāṣtra, (3) Coastal Gujarat and (4) the highlands and borderland in the east and south. The significance of the commercial importance of Gujarat has been properly emphasised to understand the growth of the local cultures. But the identification of Sophir with Ophir of the Old Testament (p 2) is no longer taken seriously by Biblical scholars. It is also not established beyond doubt that Simhapura corresponds to modern Sihor and that Prince Vijaya sailed from the latter place near modern Bhavnagar to settle in Ceylon in c 500 B.C. (p. 3) In fact, the composite legend of Vijaya is nothing more than conjectures of people of a later age and much reliance should not be placed on it.

Chapter II is entitled 'Architecture: Religious and Secular' the architectural antiquities of Gujarat have been grouped in four successive periods, viz. (i) upto 500 AD., (ii) from 500 to 1000 AD., (iii) from 1000 to 1300 AD and (iv) from 1300 to 1600 AD the first section, stūpas, vihāras, the establishment at Devnimori and caves have been studied. The second period covers the temples at Gop and some other places. The author, apparently following savants like Cousens, Sankalia and others, thinks that the Gop type was of foreign origin. But such a conclusion seems unwarranted in view of its predominantly indigenous character. As to the cate of the temple, the radio-carbon test of the pieces of timber found in the grooves of the monument suggests the 6th century AD It was during the third period that Gujarat developed a separate consciousness as a unit different from Marwar and Malwa. As an expression of this individual characteristic exquisite kirtistambhas or toranas, step-wells, city-gates, and temples on the ground and on mountain peaks were built. The fourth period coincided with the establishment of Islamic power in Gujarat Its impact was immediately felt on architecture which resolved in three divisions, viz (a) Delhi or Imperial, (b) Provincial, and (c) Mughul. The author rightly says, "of all the provincial styles which emerged under Islamic rule, that which flourished in Gujarat is the most indigenously Indian" (p 39) Unfortunately, no attempt has been made to show how it is Indian excepting a few lines written with regard to the mosques of Ahmedabad (p 38) treatment of this chapter is on the whole much below expectation. The author's dependence does not appear to be on actual field survey. As a result, the constructional aspect of the buildings has been ignored altogether. Among other things, one would expect to know why wood was used at different stages in the construction of the templetower or elliptical stones were employed on the face of the sikhara.

In Chapter III entitled 'Sculpture in Stone, Wood and Metal', the history of stone sculpture from the 2nd-1st century B.C. to the

16th century A.D. has been traced. Besides, wood-carvings, laquer wares, metal-casting and bronzes have been studied with some detail. But the indifference shown to the sculptures from Devnimori is surprising.

Chapter IV covers under the title 'Miniature Painting and Music: Folk-Dances and Folk-Drama' subjects like miniature painting, art and religion, literature on Gujarat miniature, folk music, Garabo: autumnal folk-dance, Räsa. folk-dance of cow-herds, literature, art: hand-maid of religion, classical music, folk-drama: Bhavai, and the classical Sanskrit drama of Gujarat. There is also an appendix on the Gujarati Comedy of Art.

Chapter V is written on 'Cotton and Silk Textiles and other Crafts'. It starts with an account of the history of cotton textiles. This is followed by an interesting study of silk-weaving and Patolā embroidery, figure-weaving, cloth-dyeing and cloth-printing: Bāndhanī, art of seafaring, spirit of colonization, Gujarat navy, ship-building craft, gold and silver thread, inlaying work, paper manufacture, art of gardening, glass manufacture, bead and pearls embroidery, folk art and folk designs.

In the last two chapters, the author has been able to collect a mass of valuable information for which every student of cultural history will remain indebted to him. Wood-carving, miniature painting and textile industry give Gujarat a place of distinction, and the author's scholarly survey enables the reader to get a clear picture of Gujarat's rich heritage in these spheres of art activity. The value of the book is further increased by the plates of Gujarat's art treasure whose reproductions, however, are not upto the standard.

D. R. DAS

XIV

BASAVĒSVARA AND HIS TIMES by P. B. Desai, published by the Karnatak University, Dharwar, 1968; pp. xix+406; price Rs. 2000.

A few years ago, while I was translating some of the vacanas of Basava in the pages of a renowned Bengali weekly, I felt that a comprehensive biography of that great personality should be written by a competent person. Now, to my great satisfaction, I find that the task is carried out by Prof. P. B. Desai who needs no introduction in the world of scholarship The book is published on the occasion of the eighth centenary celebration of Basava by the Kannada Research Institute, Karnatak University, Dharwar.

Basavēśvara, as is known to all, played a significant role in the religious and cultural history of Karņātaka for about four decades in the twelfth century, probably between 1132 and 1167 A.D. He revolted against the traditional religion, the caste system and the supremacy of the Brahmanas. He rebelled against his own initiation ceremony, and then leaving his house and kinsmen, went to Kūdalasangama where he spent a few years in study and meditation. Then he went to Mangalavada and accepted service under Bijjala, the provincial governor and feudatory ruler of the Kalacuri family. By his ability, he became the chief treasurer, and then launched his socioreligious movement which gathered strength and momentum in a short time. After a stay of about twenty years at Mańgalavāda, Basavěśvara went to Kalyana, the imperial capital of the Calukyas, which became a strong centre of the propagation of his faith Meanwhile. his master Bijjala usurped the throne of his Calukya overlord by violent means. The reformist movement antagonised Bijiala who took drastic steps to crush the movement of Basava, and some of his followers were killed Enraged at this, his followers probably took violent revenge on Bijjala. Unable to restrain them, Basava left Kalyana for Kūdala-sangama where he ended his life.

The task of writing a trustworthy biography of Basava is extremely difficult Worst prejudices loomed large around his personality, while his religion and philosophy were misunderstood Basavēśvara does not figure in contemporary inscriptions and the extant literary works do not furnish adequate historical facts about him. The Virasaiva literature is saturated with legendary matter and poetic exaggeration, its main purpose being devotional deification. On the other hand, the Jain Puranas, which contain copious references to Basava and his creed, give a perverted account in order to discredit Basava. Confronted with such problems, the writer has to depend on later inscriptions, the sayings of the teacher himself and his contemporaries, and the writings of earlier authors who were nearer to the age of the teacher He has accepted the rational and matter-of-fact statements in the Puranic works and literary traditions as historical probabilities and rejected the works produced in hostile camps.

The book is divided into two parts, the first being an auxiliary treatment dealing with Bijjala. Historical knowledge about Bijjala is essential for a biographical study of Basava because the latter served under him for two decades. The second part constitutes the central theme of the study on Basavēśvara. The first five chapters deal with the sources and their evaluation. In the next eight chapters are given a biographical sketch of the teacher, describing his life and personality and also a discussion on his movement. Various aspects and different view-points relating to Basava and his

religion are also discussed critically. The chronological position is discussed in the following two chapters and tentative dates are suggested for the important events in his life. The last three chapters expose the fallacies in his description, sum up his contributions and bring out his true character. The book also contains three appendices

When the learned author will have occasion to revise the work for another edition, he may think of adding an elaborate discussion on the origin, development and different aspects of the Vīraśaiva faith That would certainly make the book more useful, Sri Kumaraswamii's work being too technical for the uninitiated.

N. N BHATTACHARYA

XV

BUDDHIST SECTS IN INDIA by Nalinaksha Dutt, published by Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta, 1970; pages 318, price Rs 20.00.

The book under review is divided into nine Chapters as follows: (1) Political Background from Ajätasattu to Mahāpadma Nanda, (11) Sources and Account of the Second Buddhist Council, (11i) Disruptive Forces in the Sangha, (iv) Sources and Classification of Sects, (v) The Mahäsanghikas, (vi) Doctrines of Group II Schools, (vii) Doctrines of Group III Schools, (viii) Doctrines of Group IV Schools, and (ix) Doctrines of Group V Schools. There is an Epilogue (pp. 234-80) besides Appendices and Indices. In Chapters II. III and IV. Dr. Dutt deals with the sources and the classification of sects. The eighteen major sects are divided into five groups as follows: (i-i1) The Mahasanghikas comprised (1) Pūrvaśaila, (2) Aparaśaila, (3) Haimavata, (4) Lokottaravāda and (5) Prajñaptivāda. (III) The Sarvāstīvādins included (1) Mūlasarvāstīvāda, (2) Kāśyapīya, (3) Mahīśāsaka, (4) Dharmagupta, (5) Bahurśrutīya, (6) Tāmrasātīya and (7) a section of Vibhajyavāda. (iv) The Sammitīyas comprised (1) Kaurukullaka, (2) Avantaka and (3) Västiputriya. (v) The Sthaviras included (1) Jetavanīya, (2) Abhayagirivāsin and (3) Mahāvihāravāsin.

In the following Chapters (V-IX), the learned author discusses the geographical distribution of the sects as well as their origin, literature and doctrines. This part bears the stamp of the author's erudition

The subject of the book under review drew the attention of scholars since 1859 when St. Julien published an article in the *Journal Asiatique*. This was followed by M. V Vassilief in 1860, Rhys

Davids and Oldenberg in 1881, H. Kern and J. P. Minayess in 1884 and Paul Demiéville in 1946. The important Pali Abhidhamma text Kathāvatthu, however, was not fully utilised by the scholars. Dr. Dutt has not only made an analytical study of the treatises of Vasumitra, Bhavya and Vinītadeva, but also of the Kathāvatthu and its commentarry by Buddhaghosa, the Abhidharmakośavyākhyā and the Sammitīyanikāyaśāstra.

In the Epilogue, the author has shown how Mahāyānism developed as a natural sequence out of the views of the Mahāsanghikas and how it superseded Hīnayānism in popularity. The Appendix deals with the geographical distribution of the Buddhist sects as revealed by the accounts of Hiuen-tsang and I-tsing,

Among the drawbacks of the book, mention may be made of the fact that it suffers from careless proof-correction and the want of a bibliography. [There are some errors; e.g., at p. 306 and elsewhere (see pp. 279, 303), the Samatata and Surästra countries have been identified respectively with Jessore and Surat. Samatata is not Jessore, but the Tippera-Noakhali region. It had its capital at Devaparvata on the southern end of the Mainamati hill near Comilla Likewise, Surästra is not Surat, but Southern Kathiawar. It had its capital at Girinagara which stood near modern Junagarh—Ed] Nevertheless, it is a welcome addition to the literature on the Buddhist Sects in India and will be useful to the students of Buddhism. We hope that someone will take up the Buddhist sects outside India as a subject of study

SM. KSHANIKA SAHA

XVI

CAITANYA: HIS LIFE AND DOCTRINE by A. K. Majumdar, publihed by Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavan, Bombay, 1969; pp. 392; price Rs. 25.00

The present work is the life-history of \$rī-Caitanya, the famous Vaisnava saint and social reformer of medieval Bengal, whose doctrine of divine love has a great influence on the people even today Caitanya's life and personality provide a perennial theme to Bengali authors, and many modern biographies are available Reference should be made in this connexion to the Amiya-Nimāicarit (in Bengali) and Lord Gaurānga by Sisir Kumar Ghosh, The Vaiṣṇava Literature of Medieval Bengal, Caitanya and His Companions and Caitanya and His Age by Dinesh Chandra Sen, Early Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement in Bengal by S K De, etc Jadunath Sarkar's Caitanya's Life and Teachings is a translation of the Madhyalīlā and Antya-

līlā of Krsnadāsa's Catanyacaritāmṛta. A shorter account of Caitanya's life is given by R Kennedy in his work entitled The Caitanya Movement Of the more recent Bengali biographies of Caitanya, Girijasankar Raychaudhuri's Bānglā Carit-granthe Śrī-Caitanya and A. C. Sen's Itihāser Śrī-Caitanya deserve special mention.

Dr. Majumdar believes that the life of a religious leader can only become meaningful, if it is presented along with his doctrine and other connected subjects. But there are some difficulties obviously involved in this task. So far as the life of Caitanya is concerned, there is abundance of source-material; but the conflicting statements are embarrassing. Still we have some works on which the historians can depend. These are the works of Kavikarnapūra, the Kadcās of Murārigupta and Govindadāsa, the Caitanyabhāgavata of Vrndāvanadāsa, the Caitanyamangala of Jayānanda, the Śrīcaitanyamangala of Locanadāsa and the Śrīcaitanyacaritāmrta of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja. All these books and many others, including Oriya and Assamese works, have been analysed and discussed by Dr. B. B. Majumdar in his Śrī-Caitanya-cariter Upādān [Govindadāsa's kadcā may be a late fabrication.—Ed.]

The biography of Caitanva as presented in the book under review is mainly based upon two works which the Gaudiya Vaisnavas regard as authoritative, viz, the Caitanyabhāgavata of Vrndāvanadāsa and the Caitanyacaritamrta of Krsnadasa Kavıraja. The first three chapters discuss the various trends and movements such as Pañcaratra, Ekanta, Satvata and Bhagavata which ultimately merged into Vaisnav-These are not directly concerned with Gaudiya Vaisnavism or its founder, but are necessary for describing the historical background of the Caitanya movement. The Fourth Chapter entitled 'Pre-Caitanya Vaisnavism', in which the doctrines of the schools of Rāmānuja, Nimbārka, Madhva and Vallabha are summarised, is especially important and it really goes to the credit of the author to point out their differences with Sankara The monastic and dualistic interpretations of the Brahmasūtra are essential to the understanding of the philosophy of the Acintyabhedabheda which is discussed in details in the Twentythird Chapter. The Fifth Chapter deals with the Pre-Caitanya Vaisnavism in Bengal, in which Dr. Majumdar has evidences from inscriptions and collated literary records like the Rāmacarita, Saduktikarnāmyta, Gītagovinda, etc In the Sixth Chapter, he has given a short account of the later history of Bengal and Orissa which is necessary to understand the political condition at the time of Caitanya's birth. The Seventh Chapter deals with the materials for Castanya's life.

Chapters IX to XX deal with the life of the great saint. The Adi-līlā (from birth to renunciation) is described in seven chapters, dealing respectively with the following topics—birth and childhood,

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the student, Nimāi-pandita, Viśvambhara in love, Samkīrtana, Pāsanḍadalana, and Nimāi-sannyāsa. The Madhya-līlā forms the subject matter of four chapters dealing with his journey to Purī, travels in South India, settlement at Purī and journey to Bengal and Vṛndāvana respectively. The Antya-līlā is described in two chapters, the first dealing with the last phase of the great teacher's life and the second with his last days. Chapter XXI is a collection of the biographical notes of his followers like Nityānanda, Advait-ācārya, Dāmodara-paṇḍita, Dāmodara Svarūpa, Gadādhara-pandita, Haridāsa, Jagadānanda, Mādhavendra-purī, Murārigupta, Rāmānandarāya, Rūpa Gosvāmin, Sanātana Gosvāmin, Jīva Gosvāmin, and Śrīvāsa. Chapter XXII deals with Śrī-Caitanya's Sampradāya, a subject which involves some controversy. The concept of Rādhā-Krsna, the subject matter of Chapter XXIV, contains a nice exposition of the famous rasa theory. The book also contains sixteen useful appendices

Dr Majumdar's work is undoubtedly a very valuable addition to the Caitanya literature.

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D. R. Das

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OBITUARY

V. S. Agrawala

(1904-66)

Dr. Vasudev Sharan Agrawala breathed his last on the 27th July, 1966. In his death, the world has lost a great man and a great Indologist.

Dr. Agrawala was born in a Vaisya family on the 7th August, 1904, at Khera, a village in the Meerut District. His grandfather Jhabbamal Shah, an industrious and hardworking farmer, acquired landlordship in five villages His personality influenced young Vasudev a great deal; because the latter's father, Gopi Nath, stayed away most of the time in connection with his work. Jhabbamal daily recited the Bhagavata and the Visnusaliasranama and offered a ghee-lamp in a Siva temple. Vasudev, who called himself a Parama-Vaisnava, was also devoted to Lord Siva. He received his school education at Lucknow, studied I.A. and BA. at the Banaras Hindu University, and obtained his M.A. degree from Lucknow University in 1927 and the Ph D. and D Litt. degrees of the same University respectively in 1941 and 1946 For his research degrees, he wrote his thesis on Pāṇini's Astādhyāyī under the guidance of the late Prof R. K. Mookerji. This work published under the title India as known to Pānini he dedicated to his teacher for whom he had a great devotion Vasudev was also a graduate of Law He had a brilliant academic record standing first in all examinations except in BA in which his position was second. He actively participated in Mahatma Gandhi's Non-Cooperation Movement The Mahatma's ideas and philosophy influenced him and shaped his personality which was characterised by truth, honesty, determination, fearlessness, modesty, plain living, love and compassion and exclusive use of Khādī He allowed his dogs to sleep in his room and birds to build nests in his book-shelves. Sixteen to eighteen hours' work per day was normal for him times he worked even for thirty-six hours continuously. This acted adversely on his health.

In 1931, Dr Agrawala joined the Mathura Museum as its Curator. In 1940, he became Curator of the State Museum, Lucknow. In 1946, he took charge of the Central Asian Antiquities Museum at New Delhi as Superintendent for Museums in the Archaeological Survey of India. In 1951, he joined the Banaras Hindu University as Professor and Head of the Department of Art and Architecture. His

efforts enriched the Mathura Museum, and acquainted the people with the art of Mathura, in the study of which, he included the terracottas. His Catalogue of the Mathura Museum bears witness to his laborious and scientific study of the antiquities. The addition of a terracotta gallery in the Lucknow Museum goes to his credit. While at New Delhi, he organised an exhibition of select Indian antiquities from different museums of the country, which finally proved to be the nucleus of the present National Museum. A number of institutions owe their origin or growth to him, some of them being the Braja Sahitya Parishad, Museums Association of India, Hindi Janapadiya Parishad, Rajasthan Vaidik Shodh Samsthan, Parshvanath Vidyashram Shodh Samsthan, Prakrit Text Society, etc.

He was a respected teacher and an able research guide. He was approached thy various Research Scholars working on different topics, for his knowledge of Indological subjects was almost encyclopaedic and memory very sharp. He was not only a very sound scholar of Sanskrit, but had knowledge of ancient Indian literature as well as various modern dialects of India. Later in life, he became engrossed with Vedic studies. His earlier love and regard for the Vedas was greatly intensified and progressively increased after his contact with the famous traditional Vedic scholar Pandit Madhusudan Ojha of Rajasthan. His interpretations of the Vedic hymns are novel

Besides his own contributions, he also ably edited a number of journals such as the Journal of the U. P. Historical Society, Journal of the Numismatic Society of India, Purāṇam (All-India Kashiraj Trust, Varanasi), Bhāratī (Banaras Hındu University), Journal of the Museums Association of India, Janapada, Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Patrikā, etc. He was also editor of the Prakrit Text Society Series, Nepal Endowment Sanskrit Series, Hındu Vishvavidyalaya Sanskrit Publications Board Series, and Indian Civilization Series. A few commemorative volumes also go his credit. He has, moreover, written scholarly introductions to a number of works on various subjects and contributed the sections on Art in The Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age (ed. Majumdar and Altekar) and a few other volumes of the kind. His reviews are frank yet polite, and full of constructive discussions and original suggestions

He was first moved by the aesthetic qualities of sculpture and later fascinated by its symbolism, the change being due to his Vedic studies. He felt that both literature and art alike represent conceptions realised or inherited by contemporary society and therefore one can be studied with advantage with the help of the other. He was equally interested in Indian folk art, literature and religion. His work in this direction is embodied in the Janapada, a journal devoted to Hindi folklore, and Bhāratīya Lokadharma.

He wrote both in English and in Hindi. His writings are marked by precision and clarity. He translated into Hindi a few works including R. K. Mookerji's Hindu Civilization.

His valuable work brought him due recognition. He was elected President of the All-India Museums Association at Patna (1946) and Ahmedabad (1954), the Bhāratīya Braja Sāhitya Manḍala at Saharanpur (1949), the Numismatic Society of India at Nagpur (1950), the Veda Sammelana (1959), Ancient India Section of the Indian History Congress at Cuttack (1959), Fine Arts and Archaeology Section of the All-India Oriental Conference at Bombay and the All-India Oriental Conference at Gauhati (1964). He delivered the Convocation Address at the Bombay Hindi Vidyapith (1947).

His contributions form a vast literature. A list of his published works excluding the innumerable articles published in journals is given below.

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II. Texts edited with Introduction, Translations and Annotations. 19. Paippalada Samhita (a selection of hymns-in collaboration with Pt. Ramadatta Shukla), 1st ed, 1937 20 Hindi version of the above, VS. 1994 21. Gayatri Upanisad (in collaboration with Pt. Ramadatta Shukla), 1st ed., V.S 1998. 22. Sringar Hat (Caturbhani) (Hindi-in collaboration with Dr Moti Chandra), Hindi Grantha Ratnakar, Bombay, 1959. 23. Nal-daman of Sūrdas (Hindi-in collaboration with Pt. Daulat Ram Juyal), 1st ed., K. M. Munshi Hındi Vidyapeeth, Agra, 1961 24. Brahmasiddhänta of Pt. Madhusudan Ojha, 1st ed, Banaras Hindu University Sanskrit Publications Board, 1961. 25 Krimadbhagavadgītā (Critical text by Belvalkar), 1st ed, Banaras Hindu University Publications Board, 1962. 26. Vision in Long Darkness (Asyavāmiya Hymn of Rsi Dirghatamas), 1st ed, Veda Academy, Varanasi, 1963. 27. Brahmavinaya (Sanskrit Text by Late Pt. Madhusudan Ojha), 1st ed., Prithivi Prakashan, Varanasi, 1964. 28. Divyāvadāna, Devanāgarī edition of the text, with an English Introduction, notes and appendices, Banaras Hindu University Publications Board, 1966.

Collection of Papers. III. 29. Urujyoti (Hindi-articles on Vedic subjects), 1st ed., Ramlal Kapoor Trust, Amritsar, 1953. 30. Prthivi Putr (Hindi-articles on folklore), 1st ed., Sasta Sahitya Mandal, New Delhi, 1949; 2nd ed., Ramprasad & Sons, Agra, 1960. 31. Kalā aur Samskṛti (Hindi), Sahitya Bhavan Ltd., Allahabad, 1st ed., 1952; 2nd ed. 32. Kalp Vrks (Hindi), 1st ed., Sasta Sahitya Mandal, New Delhi, 1953. 33. Mātā Bhūmi (Hindi), 1st ed., Chetana Prakashan Ltd., Hyderabad, 1953. 34. Ved Vidyā (Hindi), 1st ed., Ramprasad & Sons, Agra, 1959. 35. Sparks from the Vedic Fire, 1st ed., School of Vedic Studies, Varanasi, 1962. 36 Ved Rasmi (Hindi), 1st ed., Svadhyay Mandal, Pardi, Dist. Surat, 1954. 37. Sunable Hains (Hindi-collection of short stories), 1st ed, Vishvavidyalay Prakashan, Kal Bhairay, Varanasi, 1954. 38. Studies in Indian Art, 1st ed., Vishvavidyalay Prakashan, Varanasi, 1965. 39. Evolution of Hindu Temples and Other Essays, 1st ed., Prithivi Prakashan, Varanasi, 1966.

IV. On Indian Art. 40 Handbook of the Sculptures in the Curzon Museum of Archaeology, Muttra, U.P. Government, 2nd ed., 1939. 41. Gupta Art, 1st ed., U.P. Historical Society, Lucknow, 1947. 42. Indian Art through the Ages (anonymously published), Publications Division, Government of India, Delhi. 43. Exhibition of Indian Art (Catalogue), Department of Archaeology, New Delhi, 1948. 44. Exhibition of Indian Art—Album (published anonymously), Department of Archaeology, New Delhi, 1948 45. Bhāratīy Kalā kā Simhāvlokan (Hindi—published anonymously), Department of Archaeology, New Delhi, 1948. 46 Mathura Museum Catalogue

(published originally in the JUPHS, Lucknow), Vol. I—Buddha and Bodhisattva Images in the Mathura Museum; Vol. II—Brahmanical Images in the Mathura Art, Vol. III—Jaina Tirthankara Images in the Mathura Museum; Vol. IV—Architectural Pieces in the Mathura Museum 47. Sarnath (a Guide Book), 1st ed., Department of Archaeology, New Delhi, 1956. 48. Hindi version of the above 49. Indian Mineatures—an Album, 1st ed., Department of Archaeology, New Delhi, 1961. 50 Cakradhvaja or the Wheel Flag of India, 1st ed., Prithivi Prakashan, Varanasi, 1964 51. Heritage of Indian Art—an Album, 1st ed., Publications Division, Delhi, 1964. 52. Masterpieces of Mathura Sculpture, 1st ed., Prithivi Prakashan, Varanasi, 1965. 53. Indian Art, 1st ed., Vol I, Prithivi Prakashan, Varanasi, 1965. 54 Mathurā Kalā (Hindi), 1st ed., Prithivi Prakashan, Ahmedabad, 1965. 55. Bhāratīy Kalā (Hindi), 1st ed., Prithivi Prakashan, Varanasi, 1966.

- V. On the Vedas, Sanskrit and Philosophy. 56 A Clue to the Understanding of the Arya Samaj, 1st ed., Secretary, Arya Samaj, BH.U, 1927. 57. Mātr Bhūmi (Hındi), 1st ed., Kamla Publishing House, Meerut; V.S. 1935, 58 Bhārat kī Maulik Ektā (Hindi), 1st ed., Bharati Bhandar, Leader Press, Allahabad, V.S. 1954. 59. Prthivī Sūkta-Ek Adhyayan (Hindi), 1st ed., Svadhyay Mandal, Pardi, 1963. 60. Vedic Lectures (May-June 1960), 1st ed., Director, School of Vedic Studies, B.H.U., Varanasi, 1963. 61. Upanisad Navnīt (Gujarati), Balgovind Prakashan, Ahmedabad. The original Hindi version is in the Press. 62 Harscarit Kathāsār (Hindi), Sasta Sahıtya Mandal, New Delhi. 63 Ravan Vadh-Kathasar (Hindi), Sahıtya Mandal, New Delhi. 64. Buddhacarit-Kathāsār (Hindi), Sasta Sahitya Mandal, New Delhi. 65. Saundarananda-Kathāsār (Hindi), Sasta Sahitya Mandal, New Delhi 66 Prācīn Bhāratīy Lok Dharm (Hindi, Gujarati)', 1st ed, Jnanodaya Trust, Ahmedabad, 1964 67. Pānini Paricay (Hindi), 1st ed, Madhya Pradesh Shasan Sahitya Parishad, Bhopal, 1965. 68. Siva Mahādeva -The Great God, 1st ed., Prithivi Prakashan, Varanasi, 1966.
- VI. Translated from English 69. Hindū Sabhyatā (Hindī trans of R. K. Mookerji's Hindu Civilisation), Rajkamal Prakashan, Delhi. 70 Brāratīya Purātattva (Hindi trans of Indian Archaeology, in collaboration with Pt. Kedarnath Sastri), Vol I, 1st ed., Department of Archaeology, New Delhi, 1959. 71. Nirog Rahne kā Saccā Upāy (Hindi trans. of Mac Feodor's book), 1st ed., Sasta Sahitya Mandal, New Delhi, 1961.
- VII. Edited. 72. Vikramānk (Hindi—Vikram issue of the Nāgarī Pracārinī Patrikā), Varanasi, VS. 2000. 73. Bhārata Kaumudī (Studies in Indology in honour of Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji), Lucknow, 2 Vols., 1st ed., 1945-46 74. Poddār Abhinandan Granth

(Hındı), Akhıl Bhăratīya Braja Sähitya Mandala, Mathurë, V.S. 2010. 75. The Song Celestial, Prithivi Prakashan, Varanası. 75 The Cloud Messenger, Prithivi Prakashan, Varanası. 77. Premi Abhinandan Granth (Hindi), 2 Vols. 78. Mathuli Şaran Gupt Abhinandan Granth (Hındi). 79. Mälaviyaşi ke Lekh aur Bhāsan (Hındı), Akhıl Bhāratīya Mălaviyaşi Janmasatî Samăroha Samiti, BHU, 1962

L. K TRIPATHI

B. C. Law

(1891-1969)

Bimala Churn Law (Vimală-Caraņa Lāhā) was born on the 26th October, 1891, in the celebrated Law family of Calcutta. With his death on the 3rd May, 1969, at the age of 78, India has not only lost one of the most prolific writers on Indological subjects, but also a businessman of great munificence. He was unlike most of our rich men, and his death has created a void which is difficult to fill up.

Bimala Churn was the youngest son of Ambica Churn Law and the grandson of Jay Gobind Law, CIE. He was educated at the Presidency College (Calcutta) and the University of Calcutta He graduated in 1914 with Honours in Pali and two years later (1916) passed the MA. Examination in Pali (including Buddhist Sanskrit, Epigraphy and Palaeography), standing first in Class I. He also graduated in Law. In 1924, Bimala Churn was admitted to the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD.) of the University of Calcutta, in Ancient Indian History and Culture, and was also awarded the University's Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Gold Medal Later he obtained the Griffith Prize of Calcutta University and the D.Litt degree and the Bonarjee Research Prize of the University of Lucknow. The Vidyālankāra Parivena of Ceylon honoured Dr. Law by conferring on him the title of Buddhāgamasiromani.

Dr Law was a scholar, landlord and business man and above all a philanthropist. He was naturally associated with a large number of institutions, many of which are learned bodies. He was Honorary Member of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute (Poona), the Ganganath Jha Research Institute (Allahabad) and the Calcutta Geographical Society. He was an Honorary Fellow of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and an Honorary Correspondent of the Archaeological Survey of India. Among the institutions of Calcutta with which he was associated, mention may be made of the Präcya Vāṇī Mandir, Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad, Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science, Indian Science News Association, Indian

Research Institute, Indian Society of Oriental Art, etc, as well as of the British Indian Association, City Athletic Club, Automobile Association of Bengal, Calcutta War Committee, National Defence and Savings Week Committee, General Committee of the Silver Jubilee Fund of King George V, General Committee of the Red Cross Society and St. John Ambulance Association, Executive Committee of the Medical College Centenary, All-Bengal Central Flood Relief Committee, etc. Among institutions outside Calcutta, Dr Law was associated, besides those mentioned above, with the Buddha Society (Bombay), Visva-Bharati (Santiniketan), Numismatic Society of India (Varanasi), Royal Asiatic Society (London), Royal Geographical Society (London), Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, American Oriental Society, Bombay Historical Society, etc.

Dr. Law is the reputed author of a large number of booksbig and small-on various branches of Indology such as Buddhism, Jainism, and Ancient Indian History and Geograpty. The long list of his works include—(1) Ksatriya Clans in Buddhist India, (2) Some Ksatriya Tribes of Ancient India, (3) Ancient Mid-Indian Kşatriya Tribes, (4) Ancient Indian Tribes, Vols. I and II, (5) Tribes in Ancient India, (6) India as described in Early Texts of Buddhism and Jainism, (7) The Magadhas in Ancient India, (8) Sravasti in Indian Literature (ASI Mem., No. 50), (9) Räjagiha in Ancient Literature (Do., No. 58), (10) Kauśāmbī in Ancient Literature (Do., No. 60); (11) The Pañcālas and their Capital Ahicchatra (Do., No. 68), (12) Unayini in Ancient India (Arch. Dept., Gwalior), (13) Geography of Early Buddhism, (14) Geographical Essays, Vol. I, (15) Holy Places of India, (16) Rivers of India, (17) Mountains of India, (18) Mahāvīra: His Life and Teachings, (19) History of Pali Literature, Vols. I and II, (20) Life and Work of Buddhaghoşa, (21) Heaven and Hell in Buddhist Perspective, (22) The Buddhist Conception of Spirits, (23) Women in Buddhist Literature, (24) Concepts of Buddhism, (25) A Manual of Buddhist Historical Traditions (Saddhammasangraha), (26) Designation of Human Types, (27) The Minor Anthologies of the Pali Canon, Part III-Buddhavamsa and Cariyapitaka, (28) Thūpavarnsa, (29) Dāṭhāvarnsa, (30) Cariyāpiṭaka, etc. His Law of Gift in British India is a different type of work. Dr Law edited the Buddhistic Studies, and the D. R. Bhandaskar Volume as well as the quarterly journal entitled Indian Culture. His Bengali works include—(1) Gautama Buddha, (2) Licchavi Jāti, Pretatattva, (4) Bauddharamani, (5) Buddhayuger Bhügol, (6) Jainaguru Mahāvīr, (7) Bhārater Punyatīrtha, (8) Saundarananda-kāvya, etc Besides, Dr. Law also published more than 200 papers and notes in various special publications and learned periodicals.

Dr Law was pertner of Messrs. Prawn Kishen Law & Co, one of the oldest trading houses of Calcutta. He was a Zamindar of

Bengal and a landholder of Calcutta, an Advocate of Calcutta High Court, a Justice of the Peace, and a Presidency Magistrate of Calcutta He was a Free Mason and was elevated to the rank of the Mark Master Mason. Dr. Law was recipient of the Silver Jubilee Medal (1935) and the Coronation Medal (1937) as personal souvenirs from His Majesty the King Emperor of India.

Dr. Law was famous for his charities and largeheartedness. His benefactions covered a wide range of humanitarian purposes, because he always responded to the call of suffering bumanity and was often inspired by idealism. A number of scholars were benefited by his munificence. Funds started for the relief of distress caused by earthquake, cyclone, flood or famine generally received liberal contributions from him. Besides endowing beds at hospitals, Dr Law made substantial contributions towards the construction of the Anderson Casualty Block at the Calcutta Medical College and the King Emperor's Anti-Tuberculosis Fund in Bengal. His charities were directed to public works of utility and cultural and social purposes such as waterworks, scheme of afforestation, supply of stud-bulls, free distribution of books to children, athletic clubs and libraries. During World War II, Dr. Law paid inter alia Rs. 20,000 to the Indian Red Cross Society and the St. John Ambulance Association. His endowments in favour of educational institutions amount to more than Rs. 50,000; e.g, (1) Calcutta Medical College-Rs. 10,500. (2) Bengal Engineering College, Sibpur-Rs. 16,700, (3) Presidency College (Calcutta)—Rs. 8,000, (4) Government Commercial Institute (Calcutta)—Rs. 4,500, (5) Bethune College (Calcutta)--Rs. 6,000, (6) Cambell Medical College (Calcutta)-Rs. 4,500, etc Some other donations of Dr. Law are the following-(1) The Asiatic Society (Calcutta) for instituting the B. C. Law and J. N. Sarkar Gold Medals and publishing popular lectures-Rs. 19,000, (2) Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science (Calcutta) for instituting the B. C. Law Gold Medal and for its Research Fund-Rs. 7,500, Indian Science News Association—Rs. 1,000, (4) Calcutta University for an electron microscope—Rs 7,000, (5) Rabindra Samiti (Calcutta)—Rs. 3,000, (6) Saratchandra Chatterjee Building Fund-Rs. 5,000, (7) Daulatpur College of Agriculture and Industries-recurring annual grant of Rs. 1,500, (8) (Calcutta)—Rs. 5,000, (9) Chittaranjan Seva College Sadan (Calcutta)—Rs. 5,000, (10)Dufferin Hospital (Calcutta)—Rs (Calcutta)—Rs. 4.000. (11) Chittaranian Hospital 5,500, (12) Calcutta Homosopathic College-Rs. 2,500. (13)Kern Institute Holland)—Rs. 5,500, (14)Indian Research (Calcutta) for its journal entitled Indian Culture-Rs. 40,000, (15) Lucknow University for the R. K. Mookerji Lectureship-Rs. 5,500, (16) Ganganath Jha Research Institute (Allahabad)—Rs. 1,000,

(17) Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society—Rs. 3,000, (18) Royal Asiatic Society (London)—Rs. 12,000, etc.

Dr. Law shunned publicity. On occasions when he was elected Sectional President of the All-India Oriental Conference or the Indian History Congress, he declined to attend the sessions. He did not usually attend the sessions of such institutions.

Two Parts of the B. C. Law Volume, edited by D. R Bhandarkar and others (Part I, Calcutta, 1945, and Part II, Poona, 1946) were presented to Dr. Law on the completion of his 55th year on the 25th October, 1946.

D. C. SIRCAR

Bimanbehari Majumdar

(1899-1969)

Dr. Bimanbehari Majumdar was born in the house of his maternal grandfather at Nabadwip (Nadia District, West Bengal) on the 21st December, 1899, at 11.54 P.M. His great-grandfather Dipchandra was a rich landlord of Kumarkkali in the then Nadia District. His grandfather Ramgati lost a huge fortune of his ancestral property due to failure in business. The downward trend in the fortunes of the Majumdar family continued in the time of his father Srischandra. But by marrying Krishnapriya, the only daughter of Advaita Das Pandit Babaji (originally Brajakisore Rakshit), Srischandra brought fortune in another way. Advaita Das was a famous Vaisnava scholar and evolved a new school of Classical devotional music in Bengal Bimanbehari owed his spiritual inclination and devotion to Vaisnava faith and movement to his mother and maternal grandfather

Bimanbehari, the eldest son of Srischandra and Krishnapriya received his early education in the $p\bar{a}ths\bar{a}l\bar{a}$ of his ancestral village, Osmanpur, and a school at Jangipur, a mile and a half from Osmanpur (in Kushthia, now in East Pakistan). When his parents left Osmanpur and settled at Nabadwip in 1912, he was admitted in the Hindu School of this place He passed the Entrance Examination in 1917 as a student of that school, in the First Division. He passed the BA. examination, with Honours in History, in the First Class, in 1921 from the Krishnanath College, Berhampore (Murshidabad District, West Bengal). In 1923, he passed the MA. examination in History from Calcutta University in the First Class, standing second in order of merit. He also took his MA. degree in Economics from the same University in 1929. He was awarded the Premchand Roychand Studentship in 1932, Mouat Medal in 1934 and Griffith Memorial Prize in 1935 In 1935, he was also awarded the Ph D. degree of

Calcutta University for his thesis entitled Caitanyacariter Upādān. It was the first Ph D. thesis written in Bengali or, for that matter, in any regional language in India, and it was examined by Rabindranath Tagore, Sushilkumar De and Khagendranath Mitra.

Bimanbehari started writing articles since he was sixteen. His first article on Vaisnavism appeared in the Visnupriya, a journal published by the Amrita Bazar Patrika authorities. His mind and style of writing were fashioned primarily by Surendranath Sankhyatirtha, a recluse, Saratchandra Goswami, a scholar, Haripada Pande and Nalinikanta Nag of the History Department, K. N. (Berhampore), and Pramathanath Banerii who later on became the Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University. Sarojranjan Bhattacharya, Asst. Headmaster, Hindu School, Nabadwip, unfolded his talent at the school stage. Even to the last day of his life, Dr. Majumdar was conscious of all that he owed to his teachers, who in turn looked upon him as their own son. Coming under the influence of Surendranath Sankhyatirtha, he gave up wearing shoes in his school days. When he went to appear at the Entrance Examination, R. N. Gilchrist, and Centre-Superintendent of the Krishnagar College, Principal refused to allow him to enter the Examination Hall barefooted. Bimanbehari had to yield to the dictates of Mr. Gilchrist. He did not protest when his teacher, Pramathanath Banerji cut off his pigtail and tore off the tulasī-mālā round his neck, after his M.A. examina. tion. Banerii told him, "Biman, you will have to serve the society in a different way. Lead a healthy and natural life." The pupil ungrudingly accepted the logic of his teacher.

Dr. Majumdar began his professional career as a research associate of Nagendranath Vasu, the famous editor of the Viśvakośa, a Bengali encyclopaedia. But, in 1924, he became a Lecturer in History in the K. C. College, Hetampur, which he left for joining the Bihar National College, Patna, in 1925, and became the Head of the Department of Economics of the latter in 1930. Dr. Majumdar became the Principal of the H. D. Jain College, Arrah, and the transformation of the small college to the huge institution of today is ample proof of his organising ability. He became the first Inspector of Colleges, Bihar University, in 1952, and retired from this post in 1959. Re-employed six year later under the University Grants Commission's scheme of utilisation of the services of retired teachers, he began to take classes in the Post-Graduate Department of History, Patna University, and continued to do so till his death.

In 1951, Bimanbehari was elected President of the Indian Political Association and presided over the 14th session of the Indian Political Science Conference at Hyderabad. He was Vice-President of the Bangiya Sähitya Parişat from 1961 to 1963. He delivered three lectures on 'Vidyāpati's Mind and Art' as Khaitan Lecturer of

Calcutta University (1953), three lectures on 'Balarāmadāsa, Jñānadāsa and Govindadāsa' at Visva-Bharati University (1963), three lectures on 'Social and Political Ideas of Vivekānanda and Nīvedītā' as Nīvedītā Lecturer of Calcutta University (1964), lectures on 'Militant Nationalism in India' at the Politics Department of Bombay University (1965), the Yogīndramohinī Lectures on 'Heorines of Tagore' at Calcutta University (1967), six lectures on 'Krsņa in History and Legend' at the Centre of Advanced Study in Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University (1967), and Extension Lectures on 'Evolution of the Indian Society in the 19th Century' at Jammu and Kashmir University (1968), and the eight Stephanos Nirmalendu Ghosh Lectures on 'Religion of Love' at Calcutta University (1969).

Dr. Majumdar's service to the community in general includes his work as President of the Bangīya Kāyastha Samāj and of the Bengalee Association, Bihar It was due to a combination of scholarship and religiosity that he held a venerable position in the Vaiṣṇava community. He was the first householder to be elected President of the Board of Trustees of the Manohar Ashram at Govindakuṇḍa. He was requested to accept the Mahantahood of the Rādhākuṇḍa temple at Vrindavana. He however declined that honour on grounds of health. He created a number of endowments for Vaiṣṇavas at Nabadwip and Vrindavana.

Strong determination contributed much to Bimanbehari's giving up old habits at the dictates of necessity. When he suffered from heart disease for the first time in 1956, he gave up smoking and tea and became a strict vegetarian. Prior to that year, he used to smoke 30 cigarettes along with cigars and hookah and drink at least ten cups of tea a day. Idleness and procrastination were alien to his nature. He used to get up at 4 in the morning and retire to bed at 10 P.M.

Dr Majumdar married Suchitra, youngest daughter of Kunjalal Chaudhuri, a leading lawyer of Chaudanga (now in East Pakistan) and sister of Dr. Rabindranath Chaudhuri, M.Sc., Ph.D. Three sons and two daughters were born to them. When he died on the 18th November, 1969, he left behind him his wife and the five children.

Dr. Majumdar's scholarly works include the following—(1) History of Religious Reformation in India in the 19th century, (2) History of Political Thought from Rammohan to Dayananda, Vol I, (3) Caitanya-carlter Upādān, (4) Vidyāpati (jointly with Khagendranath Mitra), (5) Civic Life of Bihar, (6) Problems of Public Administration in India (ed.), (7) Gandhian Concept of State (ed.), (8) Candīdāser Padāvalī, (9) Rabīndra Sāhitye Padāvalīr Sthān, (10) Sodas Satābdīr Padāvalī Sāhitya, (11) Govindadāser Padāvalī O tānhār Yug, (12) Ksanadāgītacintāmani, (13) Jñānadāsa O tānhār Padāvalī, (14) Pāncšata Vatsarer Padāvalī, (15) Indian Political Association

and Reform of Legislature, (16) Militant Nationalism in India, (17) Srikrsnakarnämptam (ed.), (18) Congress and Congressmen in the Pre-Gandhian Era (jointly with Bhakat Prasad Mazumdar), (19) History of Indian Social and Political Ideas, (20) Heroines of Tagore, (21) Krsna in History and Legend, (22) Gaurimangala (ed.), and (23) Caitanyamangala of Jayānanda (ed).

B. P. MAZUMDAR

George Coedes

(18867-1969)

Professor George Coedes, Member of the Institute, President of the Asiatic Society of Paris and Honorary Director of the Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient, passed away on the 1st of October, 1969. At the time of death he was about 84 years old. He had been ailing for about a year; but the death of his wife a few months earlier precipitated the crisis.

Professor Coedès is the last of the great Western scholars who. by their application and critical method, have brought South-East Asiatic studies to their present eminent height. Quite early in his life he was initiated into Sanskritic studies by the great French savant, Auguste Barth, known for his monumental work on the religions of India and his edition (in collaboration with Abel Bergaigne) of the Sanskrit inscriptions of Champa and Cambodia. But it was Sylvain Lévi who took an active interest in the formation of his career. The first truit of the researches of Coedès was published in 1904 when, at the age of about 18, he edited two early inscriptions of Cambodia (BEFEO, Vol IV, pp. 69-97) and successfully introduced king Bhavavarman II (§. 567=638 A.D.). Soon he established his reputation as an epigraphist by editing a number of important inscriptions. He also published his list of the inscriptions of Champa and Cambodia (ibid., Vol. VIII, pp. 37-92) and an alphabetical index of Cambodge, Vols. I-III (containing summary of the contents of Combodian inscriptions discovered upto 1904) by M Aymonier (Bulletin de la Comission Archéologique d'Indochine, 1911, pp. 85-169).

For many years, Coedes was associated with the Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient and posted in Cambodia. This provided him with an opportunity of mastering Khmer With his study of the tradition of the Brārmana Kaundinya and the Nāgī Somā (BEFEO, Vol. XI, p. 391 ff.) started the series entitled Etudes Cambodgiennes which throws light on all aspects of Cambodian history. He laid emphasis

on the fact that folklore and related ethnological data should be taken into consideration for the study of the history and civilisation of ancient Cambodia. The sacerdotal families of ancient Cambodia had mostly a matrilinear structure; but Coedès suggested that the families of Sivakaivalya and of Praṇavātman recognized consanguine relationship; that is to say that the men of these two families could marry simultaneously more than one wife belonging to different families.

As early as 1911, Coedès made a penetrating study of the question of deification of the kings, members of the aristocracy and the priestly community even during their life time This explained the real nature of the Devaraja cult He challenged Finot's theory that there was a unique idol of the Devaraja in whom resided the essence of royalty. Among his other writings on this subject, mention may be made of 'The Cult of Deified Royalty: Source of Inspiration of the Great Monuments of Ankor' (Art and Letters, Vol. XXVI, pp. 51-53), and his work entitled Pour mieux comprendre Angkor (1947). In 1910, Coedès published the 'Catalogue des pièces originales de sculpture Khmère conservées au Musée indochinois du Trocadéro et au Musée Guimet' (BCAI, 1910, pp. 19-62). Later he made a comprehensive study of the bronze sculptures of Cambodia ('Bronzes Khmers', Ars Aslatica, Vol. V, 1923). His dating of the monument of Bàyon to the reign period of Jayavarman VII has changed the whole chronogical structure of the history of art in Cambodia He also suggested dates for the temples of Bantay Srei, Koh Ker, Baphuon

Under the editorship of Finot, the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres already published six volumes of plates of inscriptions found in Cambodia. But there was as yet no printed transcript of many of them. Coedès undertook the publication of these inscriptions in Sanskrit and old Khmer. Great perseverence and scholarship were exhibited by him in bringing out, in eight volumes, the critically edited texts and annotated translations of most of these inscriptions in a period of over thirty years (1936-67).

Coedès was conscious of the role of the pre-Indian autochthonous element in the evolution of the Classical Khmer civilization. To understand the inner significance of the happenings of Cambodia, he felt the necessity of studying the history of the countries adjacent to Cambodia and made valuable contributions to the study of the early history of Laos, Siam and Indonesia In two volumes published in 1924 and 1929, he edited and translated the inscriptions of Siam. In 1925, he edited the three Päli chronicles of Laos (BEFEO, Vol. XXV, pp 1-200). Thus equipped, none was more competent than Coedès to write the history of the Indianized countries of Indochina and Indonesia (Les États hindouisés d'Indochine et d'Indonesie).

and Takeo.

OUR DEPARTMENT

SESSION 1969-70

- 1. The number of students admitted to the First year M.A. Class, under the restricted admission scheme, is 45.
- 2. The number of candidates appearing at the M.A. Examination of 1959 is 160. The result of the previous year's Examination, and the names of the recipients of the Carmichael Professor's Prize for regular attendance for the last three years have already been mentioned above, Vol. II, p. 355.
 - 3. The number of books added to the Departmental Library is 384 making a total of 4271. The number of copies of books and journals received free during 1969-70 in exchange for the Centre's publications and the *Journal of Ancient Indian History* (including books for review) are respectively 76 and 40 copies.
 - 4. The four National Scholarships at the Centre, for the year, have been awarded to the following graduates—

Calcutta University-

- (i) Sri Rajibkanti Sarmadhikari and
- (ii) Sm. Suprabha Hazra

Other Universities-

- (i) Sm. Uma Misra (Utkal University) and
- (ii) Sm. Jharna Bhattacharya (Banaras Hindu University),
- 5 The two Research Scholarships at the Centre, for the year, have been awarded to the following—

Calcutta University-

Sm. Madhabi Bandyopadhyay, M.A.

Other Universities-

Sri Asok Kumar Jha, M.A. (Bhagalpur University).

- 6. The following have been appointed Junior Research Fellows at the Centre—
 - (1) Dr. Sm. Juthika Maitra, M.A., Ph.D (Banaras Hindu University).
 - (11) Sm. Kalyani Bajpeyi, M.A. (History—Jadavpur University, AIHC—Calcutta University).

- 7. The following have been admitted to the degree of D.Phil. in AIHC, Calcutta University—
 - (i) Sri Sarjug Prasad Singh, M.A. (Patna University), at first a Research Scholar and now a Junior Research Fellow at the Centre, in August, 1969, for his thesis entitled *Discovery of Early Coins in Bihar*.
 - (ii) Sri Sudhansusekhar Mukhopadhyay, M.A., in April, 1970, for his thesis entitled Some Aspects of Early Indo-African Contacts.
- 8. The following have submitted their theses for the degree of D Phil. in AIHC, Calcutta University—
 - (i) Sri Chunilal Chakrabarti, M.A., a thesis entitled The Historical Geography of Udīcya or Uttarāpatha
 - (11) Sri Amalendu Sarkar, M A., a thesis entitled Siva in Medieval Indian Literature
 - (iii) Sri Dipakchandra Bhattacharya, M.A, a thesis entitled Studies in Buddhist Iconography in Eastern India.
 - (iv) Sm Rama Chattopadhyay, M.A., a thesis entitled Religion in Bengal during Pāla and Sena Times.
 - (v) Sri Pritimadhab Ray, M.A., a thesis entitled Origin of Saivism.
- Dr. Narendranath Bhattacharya, M.A., D.Phil., has submitted a thesis entitled *History of Indian Cosmogonical Ideas* for the D.Litt. degree.
- 9. Six lectures were delivered at the Centre, the names of the lecturers and the subjects on which they spoke respectively being as follows:
 - Prof. L Rocher (University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, U.S.A.)—'Ancient India as reflected in the Works of the Greeks and Romans'.
 - (11) Dr. Mrs. R. Rocher (National Foundation for Scientific Research, Belgium)—'N B Halhed, an Early Student of Indian Culture'.
 - (iii) Dr. I. W Mabbett (Monash University, Australia)—"The Interpretation of Ancient Indian Historical Sources".
 - (iv) Prof A. L Basham (Australian National University, Canberra)—'Secular Element in Ancient Indian Life'.
 - (v) Prof T V Mahalingam (University of Madras)—'Recent Archaeological Trends in South India'.

(vi) Prof. L. Rocher (University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, U.S.A)—'Continuity and Change in the History of Hindu Institutions: The Case of Hindu Law'.

The summaries of and discussions on these lectures are being published in Vols. III and IV of the Journal (see above, pp. 248 ff.).

- 10. The annual series of two days' Inter-University Seminars on (I) 'Early Indigenous Coins', and (II) 'Social Life of Ancient India', were held at the Centre on the 26th and 27th February, 1970. Sixteen papers were received on the first subject and twenty on the second. The seminars were well attended. Besides scholars pertaining to the University of Calcutta and other local institutions, representatives of the following universities attended them: Banaras, Gauhati, Gorakhpur, Jadavpur, Lucknow, Madras, Nagpur and Poona and also Pennsylvania (U.S.A) The proceedings of the seminars will be published in the near future.
- 1. Nine Monthly Seminars were held at the Centre, in which 41 papers were read and discussed and a number of topics were raised for discussion and several obituary notes presented. The proceedings of most of these Seminars have been incorporated in the present Volume of the Journal (pp. 273 ff.).
 - 12. The following books have been published during the session-
- (i) Landlordism and Tenancy in Ancient and Medieval India as revealed by Epigraphical Records (Dr. R. K. Mookerji Endowment Lectures delivered at Lucknow University) by Prof. D C. Sircar, published by the University of Lucknow, Lucknow, 1969;
- (ii) Prācyavidyā-taranginī (Golden Jubilee Volume of the Department of AIHC, Calcutta University), edited by Prof. D. C. Sircar, Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, University of Calcutta, 1969;
- (iii) Bhakti Cult and Ancient Indian Geography (Proceedings of the 4th series of Inter-University Seminars held at the Centre in February, 1968) edited by Prof. D. C Sircar, Centre of Advanced Study in AIHC, University of Calcutta, 1970.
- (1v) Foreigners in Ancient India and Lakşmī and Sarasvatī in Art and Literature (Proceedings of the 5th Series of Inter-University Seminars held at the Centre in February, 1969) edited by Prof. D. C. Sircar, Centre of Advanced Study in AIHC, University of Calcutta, 1970;
- (v) Some Problems of Kuṣāna and Rājpūt History by Prof. D. C. Sırcar, Calcutta, 1969.

- 13. (1) Prof D. C. Sircar, Carmichael Professor and Head of the Department and Director, Centre of Advanced Study in Ancient Indian History and Culture, attended the Golden Jubilee Session of the All-India Oriental Conference held at Jadavpur University in October 1969. He was elected General President of the forthcoming session of the All-India Oriental Conference to be held at Vikram University, Uljain, in 1971.
- (ii) Dr. K K. Ganguly, Reader in the Department, visited Poland in November, 1969, and delivered lectures at Warsaw University and the Warsaw Institute of Art on 'Indian Folk Art' and 'Indian Art' respectively. He also delivered a lecture on 'Art and Museum in India' at the National Museum, New Delhi, in March, 1970 Dr. Ganguly was elected President of the forthcoming session of the Museums Association of India.
- (iii) Dr A N Lahiri, Reader in the Department, attended, as delegate of the University, the Annual Conference and Seminar of the Numismatic Society of India held at Patna University in October, 1969, and the Annual Session of the Indian History Congress held at the Banaras Hindu University in December, 1969. He was elected Vice-Chairman of the Numismatic Society of India and President of the same society for its Madras session to be held in October, 1971.
- (iv) Dr. K. K. Dasgupta, Lecturer in the Department, attended the Annual Session of the Indian History Congress held at the Banaras Hindu University and of the Institute of Historical Studies at Bangalore University. He was elected the Library-Secretary of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta.
- (v) Dr. S Bandyopadhyay, Senior Research Fellow at the Centre, attended the 58th Annual Conference and Seminar of the Numismatic Society of India held at Patna University as a delegate of the Centre. He also attended the Annual Conference and Seminar of the Archaeological Society of India, held at the same University, in October, 1969.
- (vi) Dr. A. K. Chattopadhyay, Junior Research Fellow at the Centre, attended the Annual Conference of the Institute of Historical Studies held at Bangalore in November, 1969
- (vii) Dr Sarjug Prasad Singh, Junior Research Fellow at the Centre, attended the Annual Conference and Seminar of the Nnmismatic Society of India held at Patna University in October, 1969.
- 13 Exchange relations of the publications of our Centre have been established during the year with the following institution—Institut Française, Pondichery. The Journal of the Ganganath Jha Research Institute, Allahabad, established exchange relations with our Journal.

- 14. About our Journal of Ancient Indian History, Dr. W. D. O' Flaherty writes as follows in the Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies (1969), University of London—"a first class journal is always welcome.....Prof. D. C. Sircar has written two articles ...that are up to his usual high standard. Dr. R. C. Majumdar's surveys....are most interesting. Other articles....stimulating points are raised....The quality and range of this journal make it worthy of the international repute of its predecessor (IHQ)..... The book reviews are timely and pointed and a most useful service is performed by the translation and reprinting of now-classic articles otherwise available in....rare publications. In all, this is an extremly valuable periodical and it is off to a most auspicious start"
- Sri P. R. Srinivasan, Superintending Epigraphist, Government of India, writes, "while its articles are of absorbing interest..., I am simply carried away by the proceedings of the Monthly Seminars on various topics, which are very very interesting....The subjects discussed at the seminars and the quality of observations of the participants are of a remarkably high order and, on top of it all, are your wonderful contributions as Chairman. I have not so far seen the like of such scholarly activity anywhere else....."
- 15. The M.A course in Ancient Indian History and Culture having been introduced in the University of Calcutta in the year 1918, the Department celebrated its Golden Jubilee on completing half a century of its existence, on the 16th and 17th of August. 1969. Hon'ble Justice D. N. Sinha, then Acting Governor of West Bengal and Chancellor of the University, inagurated the celebrations which were attended by Dr. S. N. Sen, Vice-Chancellor, and Sri H. M. Majumdar, Pro-Vice-Chancellor (Business Affairs and Finance), Calcutta University, and a large number of distinguished old students and teachers of the Department including Dr R. C. Majumdar, the famous historian, Sri B. N. Banerjee, retired Judge, Calcutta High Court, and Sri C. M. Saikar then a member of the West Bengal Cabinet. A volume entitled Prācyavidyā-taranginī, edited by Prof. D. C. Sircar, was released, and the students staged Sri Sailajananda Mukhopadhyay's Bandī under the direction of Dr. Samaresh Bandyopadhyay. Sri Dilipkumar Mandal and Sm. Mukti Ghosh were adjudged respectively the Best Actor and the Best Actress The Folk Entertainment Section, Department of Information and Public Relations. Government of West Bengal, was kind enough to present, on the occasion free of charges, Rabindranath's dance-drama, Citrangada.

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ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

Page 20, line 12. —Read—Gadhpar

- " 31, note 2. —Add—The Sainkhapāla Jātaka (No. 524) mentions the Mahimsaka kingdom and the Kṛṣṇavarṇā river while the Cūłtharisa Jātaka (No. 533) seems to mention the same territory as Mahisara. This may suggest the location of one Mahiṣaka in the valley of the Kṛṣṇā.
- 46, line 17. -Read-to [hy=a]vadat
- a teacher is described as surrounded by 500 disciples and a merchant as going to trade with merchandise carried in 500 carts (I. C. Ghosh, Jātaka, Bengali, Vol. I, p. xvi).
- " 102, line 9. —Read—nämadheyam
- -Add-In the late Rājavijaya-nātaka 104, note 8. (ed. R. C. Majumdar and K. G. Goswami, Calcutta, 1947), Rājā Rājavallabha, Zamindar of Rājanadescribed is as-uttisthadbahu-kāñcana-dyuti-grham vasv =endratā-sādhakam, so='vam Śrīyuta-Rājavallabha-krtī samrāt jayyo janaih (p. 6), vitarati na vajratamasī na $R\bar{a}iavallabha-tul=\bar{a}p=$ Indre (p. 10), etc. Of course, so much is not expected in early works.

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Page 149, note 54.

-Add-Kautilya (Ch. 61) says, "In the case of a husband, who has gone long abroad, or who has become an ascetic, or who has been dead, the wife, having no issue, shall wait for him for the period of seven menses; but, if she has given birth to children, she shall wait for a year. Then she should marry her husband's brother (pati-sodaryam gacchet). If are many such brothers, she will marry the one next in age to her dead husband or is virtuous or is capable of protecting her or is the youngest or is unmarried" (cf. trans. Shamasastry, p. 159). In the absence of full brothers, she will marry her husband's stepbrother or relative (sapinda or kulya, i.e. jñāti),

- , 163, note 5. —Read—Rājataranginī
- .. 165, line 6. —*Read*—carved
- " 180, note 9. —Add Editorial Note—For the actors of Mathurā about the beginning of the Christian era, see below, p. 229.
- " 186, line 5. Read Tāmrasātīya
- " 187, line 16. Read [Dvāpara Ed.]
- " 210, note. —Read—Dakhiṇāpathesaro
- " 222, line 11. —Read—patronage
- " 223, note, line 2.—Read—Rtusamhāra
- " 237, note, line 3.—Read—cf. Sircar

Page 247, line 14. -Read-Another

" " line 17. —Read—Indica

" 258, line 19. —Read—connection

" 259, line 6. — Read — Videha

" 264, line 28. —Read—Mongolian

" 292, line 37. —Read—entire gamut

, 293, line 11. —Read—Navdatoli

., , line 27. —Read—Leshnik

" 294, line 39. —Read—Besides typological

, 351, line 32. —Read—Chuadanga

M. Foucher has rightly observed that the beginnings of Buddhist art are characterized by the use of some of these symbols and one or two others, and that they are used to designate the presence of the Buddha in the story-telling reliefs of Bharhut and Sanci, where no anthropomorphic representation of the Master can be found, that is to say, so far as the last incarnation is concerned. Thus, in the long Abhinish amana scene (Fig. 19), Siddhar ha's presence on Kanthaka is indicated only by the royal umbrella borne beside him, his sojourn in the wilderness is indicated by foot-prints (pāduka), and the First Meditation by the central raised caitya-vṛkṣa. Some of these symbols taken alone came to be used to designate the Four Great Events (afterwards, eight) of the Buddha's life: I am rather doubtful of the nativity symbols, but certainly the Bodhi-tree (a similar caitya-vyksa) designated the Enlightenment, the Dharmacakra (wheel), the First Sermon, and the stupa, the Parinirvana. Further detail is immaterial for the present purposes. It need only be remarked that M. Foucher assumes that the symbols were thus used by Buddhists in the first place upon signacula, little documents carried away by pilgrims visiting the sacred sites of the Four Great Events.⁵ Presumably these would have been of terracotta or metal; but no trace of such objects has ever been found, and such early terracottas as are known in some abundance indicated above, of a quite different sort. The point, however, is unnecessary to M. Foucher's argument, as in any case an abundance of symbols was available to be made use by every sect according to its own needs; and that each actually did so is only another illustration of the general rule that styles of art, in India, are not sectarian.

⁵ Beginnings of Buddhist Art, p. 11.

M. Foucher's statement of the theory is only misleading to the extent that he implies that there was anything especially Buddhist about the process. When, however, he goes on to say⁶ that the sculptors of Bharhut, Bodhgayā and Sāñcī "devaient se sentir terriblement gênės par cette incapacitė ou cette interdiction d'introduire dans leurs compositions les plus compliquèes l'image du hèros principal", he is only preparing the way for the later revelation from Gandhāra; as he has admitted elsewhere, there existed neither an incapacity (the same sculptors represented the Buddha freely as a human being in previous incarnations) nor an interdiction (for nothing of the kind can be found in Buddhist literature), and, as is readily apparent, the sculptor was by no means embarrassed, but in fact perfectly successful in telling his story. It is hardly to be supposed that the meaning of

⁶ L'art greco-bouddhique du Gandhāra, I, p. 612

⁷ It may as well be observed here that the later representation of the Buddha figure in Indian art is not the same thing as the introduction of a naturalistic style; a new object, the human figure, is introduced where it had been absent; but this figure is treated in the traditional abstract manner. The only naturalistic style in question is that of Gandhara. No phase of Indian art can be desembed as naturalistic in this sense; if we sometimes call the early style realistic, this only means that its theme is corporeal rather than spiritual -The tendency to represent the human figure need not involve a naturalistic style: in Greek art, the use of the figure and a naturalistic style are associated, in Indian art, it is not the appearance, but the significance of objects, human or otherwise, that is sought for. In Greek art, the emphasis is laid upon the object; in an abstract art it is not the object, but a concept that stands before us Every work of art is of course to some extent a compromise between the two points of view, naturalistic and abstract (or expressionistic), but what is important to observe here is that the two extremes are contrasted, not in Indian Buddhist art before and after the introduction of the cult image (the Indian style remaining abstract throughout, whether it represents a sacred tree or a Buddha

these reliefs needed to be explained to contemporary Buddhists.

At this point an earlier-than-Gandhara indebtedness of Indian art to that of Greece has been inferred in more than one connection. Della Setta, endorsed by Foucher, has pointed out that representation of three-quarters profile, and the use of continuous narration are illustrated somewhat earlier in Greece than in India. Strzygowski holds that the method of continuous narration was developed in the Hellenistic Near East. Marshall believes that Western influences felt through Bactria may account for the artistic progress recognizable at Sanci; but, as recently observed by Rostovtseff, "we know so little of Bactrian art that it is a mistake in method to explain ignotum per ignotius." It has not yet been suggested that inverted perspective and vertical projection are of Hellenistic origin (see Dalton, East Christian Art, p. 166). But a discussion of these points lies outside the scope of the present essay, as, in any case, these technical methods antedate Gandhara.

Nor need anything further be said upon the subject of the symbolic language, except to remark that it remained in use, particularly at Amarāvatī, and also in Mathurā, for

figure), but in Indian and Hellenistic art, respectively abstract and naturalistic. We are not here discussing questions of ment; as remarked by H. Frankfort in a clear definition of terms (Studies in Early Pottery of the Near East, I, London, 1924, p. 18). "The sense of beauty or aesthetic activity may equally well find expression in both ways." The only possibility of embarrassment is found when the artist for arbitrary reasons adopts one of these styles opposed to his innate idiosyncracy; Asiatic art under European influence in the nineteenth century affords many examples of such embarrassment. It is ridiculous to speak of embarrassment at Sāñcī, or to suppose that a decadent naturalistic art could have inspired a young and vigorous abstract art.

some time subsequent to the introduction of the anthropomorphic image.

For aniconic representations of the Buddha referred to in this section, see Figs. 19-23, 26, 28.

III. THE NECESSITY FOR A BUDDHA IMAGE

Inasmuch as neither the Upanisads nor Buddhism nor Jainism, considered in their original character as systems of thought, contemplated the worship ($p\bar{u}j\bar{a}$) of any personal deity, it may well be asked how it came to pass that Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism alike became 'idolatrous' The answer to this question was admirably expressed by Jacobi over forty years ago:8 "I believe that this worship had nothing to do with original Buddhism or Jainism, that it did not originate with the monks, but with the lay community, when the people in general felt the want of a higher cult than that of their rude deities and demons, when the religious development of India found in Bhakti the supreme means of salvation. Therefore instead of seeing in the Buddhists the originals and in the Jainas the imitators, with regard to the erection of temples and worship of statues, we assume that both sects were, independently of each other, brought to adopt this practice by the perpetual and irresistible influence of the religious development of the people in India."

Bhakti, as is well known, means 'loving devotion, loyalty, attachment, service' to one who is the Bhagavat, 'worshipful, adorable, Lord', and he, who feels such devotion and is devoted to any such being, is called Bhāgavata or Bhakta. The conception comes into prominence together with, and is inseparably bound up with, the development of theistic cults in India, as these are with the making of images and the

⁸ Jaina Sūtras, in SBE, Vol. XXII, p xxi

- building of temples. Theistic elements are recognizable in the Upaniṣads; the development, as proved by the inscription of Heliodora who calls himself a Bhāgavata with reference to Viṣṇu, was already advanced in the second century B.C. Vaiṣṇava inscriptions, indeed, of the third or fourth century B.C.* have been found at Nagarī (Madhyamikā) near Chitor. The most famous Bhakti scripture is the Bhagavadgītā a work that must have heen composed before the beginning of the Christian era, and perhaps about the fourth century B.C.** "Be assured, O son of Kuntī," says Kṛṣṇa, "that none, who is devoted to Me, is lost." In the same way the Buddhist Majhimanikāya assures us that even those who have not yet entered the Paths "are sure of heaven if they have love and faith toward Me."

Much discussion has been devoted to the question of the origin of the *Bhakti* cults. Let us examine the usage of the word. Outside the field of religion revealed in Vedic literature, there lay a world of popular beliefs including the worship of Yakṣas or Nāgas as tutelary divinities or genii loci, and of feminine divinities, powers of fertility. Buddhist and Jaina texts contain many references to the cult or shrines of Yakṣas or Nāgas. To what extent

^{* [}Probably, first century BC-D.C.S.]

^{** [}Probably, later by a century or more.—D.C.S]

⁹ Both the Yakşas and Nāgas are aboriginal, Nonaryan types. Macdonell's surmise (Vedic Mythology, p. 153) that the Aryans 'doubtless found the cult [of Nāgas] extensively diffused among the natives when they spread over India, the land of serpents,' has been curiously justified by the discovery of Nāga types on Indo-Sumerian seals (ASI, AR., 1924-25, p. 61). See also Vogel, Indian Serpent Lore, and my article on Yakşas to appear as a Smithsonian publication in 1928

¹⁰ Yakkha-samyutta of the Samyuttanikāya, X. 4. See other references in Chanda, Four Ancient Yakşa Statues, in Journ. Dept. Letters, University of Calcutta, Vol. IV, 1921 (pp 5, 34-36 of the reprint).

the Yakkha-cetiyas (Yaksa-caityas) of Buddhist texts may have been actual temples, or merely 'haunts' (bhavana) marked by the establishment of a throne, or rather altar, beneath a sacred tree or beside a lake need not concern us; here is the importance of these divinities, and the relation that existed between them and their worshippers. There is no reason to doubt the tradition preserved in the Tibetan Dulva that the Sakyas were accustomed to present all newborn children before the image of the Yakşa Śākyavardhana, evidently the tutelary deity of the clan. 11 Another Tibetan source relates that a gate-keeper of Vaisali, in the Buddha's lifetime, was reborn among the spirits, and requested the inhabitants of Vaisall to confer on him the status of a Yaksa, in return for which he would warn them of any danger threatening them. "So they caused a Yakşa statue to be prepared and hung a bell round its neck. Then they set it up in the gate-house, and provided it with oblations and garlands along with dance and song to the sound of musical instruments."12 In the Mahābhārata, a Yaksini shrine was 'world-renowned'. The city of Nandivardhana in Magadha seems to have been called after the tutelary Yaksas Nandin and Vardhana.18 Jaina and Buddhist traditions are in agreement as to the names of some of the Yaksa caityas. The Mahavamsa, Chapter X, describes the cult of Yaksas in Ceylon. The Yaksas are usually gentle; sometimes they act as familiars or guardian angels of individuals.14

¹¹ Rockhill, Life of the Buddha, p 17 The episode is twice represented at Amarāvatī (Fergusson, Tree and Serpent Worship, Pls. LXIX, and XCI 4).

¹² Schiefner, Tibetan Tales from the Kah-gyur, trans Ralston, p. 81.

¹³ O. C. Gangoly, in *Modern Review*, October, 1919; and Chanda, op. cit, with reference to a statement in the *Mahāmāyūrī*.

¹⁴ Hopkins, Epic Mythology, p. 57; Foucher, L'art greco-bouddhique

ORIGIN OF THE BUDDHA IMAGE ORIGIN (Vaisrawana, Vaisramana), who is

Note The Vaksa Wir Great Kings, the Lokanala The Yaksa wit Great Kings, the Lokapalas, is a closely associated with But the term Yaksa cases The Lokapalas, is a closely associated us. But the term Yaksa seems once to thus one of mething more than Kubera or one of his thus one Yaksatva in the Parameters. very oon; like immortality, it is bestowed by the gods a rightly propitiated. 15 This older and wider significance, as remarked by Kern, 16 is sometimes met with in Buddhist references to Yaksas; Indra, for example, may be called a Yaksa, and even the Buddha is glorified by Upāli in the Majhimanikaya as an ahuneyyo yakkho uttamapuggalo atulo.

Many references to the Naga cult are scattered through the Buddhist texts. The Chinese pilgrims constantly refer to monasteries and stūpas occupying sites originally haunted by Nāgas. Hsüan Tsang informs us that Nālanda was originally the name of a Naga and the monastery built by the side of a pool is therefore called after his name.'17

The significance for us, of these cults, so widely diffused and so popular in ancient India, will be apparent when,

du Gandhāra, II, pp. 40 ff It is precisely the rôle of guardian angel that some Yakşas play in relation to the Buddhas and Jinas; cf. the relation of the Buddha particularly with the Yaksa Vajrapāņi.

¹⁵ Rāmāyana, III. 11. 94; Hopkins, op. cit., p. 67.

¹⁶ Manual of Indian Buddhism, p. 59. Foucher, loc. cit., insists on the cruel nature of the Yakşas as referred to in the Buddhist texts; but this is usually where some story of miraculous conversion is related, and may well be designed to emphasize the marvel That ugra Yakşa types also existed need not be denied; but the familiar example of Kālī or of Siva himself would show how little this need have interfered with their existence as objects of a Bhakti cult.—The subject of Yaksas will be treated at some length in a Smithsonian publication in 1928. See also the admirable summary under Yakkha in Rhys Davids and Stede, Pali Dictionary.

¹⁷ Beal, Life of Hiuen Tsiang, p 110; Buddhist Records of the Western World, pp 63 ff., 123, 140 ff, 200.

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ANANDA K COMARASWAMY in the first place, we observe that the first place of the first place, and the first place of the firs Buddhist temple, including particularly to of the worship and the offering of flowers, garlands and music offered in a stances, constantly inherited the prestige of sites alm. sacred, as at Bodhgayā and Nālandā; and finally, and most important, that the designation Bhagavat is applied not alone to Vasudeva (Visnu), 18 to Siva 19 and to the Buddha, 20 but also to the Four Great Kings, the Mahārājas, Regents of the Quarters, 21 of whom some are Yakşas and some Nagas, and also to various Yaksas and Nagas specifically. **

¹⁸ Pāṇini, IV 3. 98; inscription of Heliodora at Besnagar, proclaiming himself a Bhagavata, D. R. Bhandarkar, 'Excavations of Besnagar', in ASI, A.R., 1913-14 and 1914-15; R. G Bhandarkar, Vaisnavism, Salvism and Minor Religious Systems, p. 5; R. P. Chanda, Archaeology and Vaisnava Tradition (Mem. ASI, 1920).

¹⁹ Patañjali mentions the Siva-bhāgavata (on Pānini, V. 276): Siva is called Bhagavat in the Atharvasiras Upanişad. Cf. Mahābhārata, XII 18.65: "Even after committing all crimes, men by mental worship of Siva are freed from all sin," with Bhagavadgītā, IX. 30.

²⁰ E.g., Bhagavato Saka-munino at Bharhut; also the Piprahwä vase inscription.

²¹ Pāṇini (IV. 3.97) speaks of Bhakti directed to the Mahārājas (not in a political sense as interpreted by Jayaswal, but with reference to the Four Great Kings, see Bhusari in Ann Bhandarkar OR. Inst, Vol. VIII, 1926, p 199); also in Mahābhārata, VIII 4531; but here the Regent of the north is Soma (Hopkins. Epic Mythology, p. 149). [The Buddhist Lokapalas were called Mahārāja in Buddhist literature; but the Brahmanical Lokapalas are not usually so called. doubtful that Pānini used Mahārāja to indicate the Lokapālas. See Hopkins, op cit., pp 149-52; The Bhakti Cult and Ancient Indian Geography, ed. Sircar, pp. 49. 128.—D.C.S.]

²² Kubera, in Mahābhārata, V. 192, 42 ff. (Hopkins, Epic Mythology, p 145); Manibhadra, image and inscription from Pawaya where his worshippers, the gosthi or corporation (guild), that installed the image, describe themselves as Mānibhadra-bhaktāh (M. B. Garde, 'The Site of Padmavati', in ASI, AR., 1914-15, Pt I; Chanda, op cit); the Naga Dadhikarna in a Mathura inscription, Luders'

Buddhism exhibited no hostility to these popular cults: the Buddha indeed expressly exhorts the Licchavi-Vajjis to continue 'to honour and esteem and revere and support the Vajjian cetiyas in the city or outside it, and allow not proper offerings and rites, as formerly given and performed, to fall into desuetude,' and so long as this were done, 'so long may the Licchavi-Vajjis be expected not to decline, but to prosper.' 28

Historically, the Bhāgavata cults of Yakṣas and Nāgas must have yielded only gradually and peacefully to the Bhāgavata cults of Viṣnu and the Buddha; the cult of Nāgas and Yakṣas, indeed, is still widely prevalent, and though I do not know that the term *Bhagavat* is still employed, the lower classes throughout India still worship innumerable local godlings of this character, and it is significant that the priesthood of the temples of such godlings is always a non-Brāhmana. Officially, these cults were replaced by the 'higher' faiths, Vaiṣṇava, Saiva, Bauddha and Jaina; but even officially the Nāgas and Yakṣas were not dismissed by the orthodox monks, but represented as worshippers

List, No. 85; Nagas in the Mathura Museum, Vogel, Catalogue, Nos. C 13 and C 21.

²³ Anguttaranikāya. It need hardly be pointed out again that caltya, cetiya, signifies any kind of holystead such as a sacred or temple, not necessarily a stūpa.

the at the present day, see Hutchison and Vogel, in Journ. Panjab Hist. Soc., Vol. IV, Part the Worship of the Pipal Tree in 2, 572, and The Village

^{1922;} Callaway, London,

or guardians of the Buddha or Jina. Nor could the 'higher religions', when from systems of pure thought and of monastic discipline they developed into popular faiths, have succeeded in securing the adhesion of the mass of the people had they not both tolerated and reflected popular beliefs. Iconolatry, ritual, 25 devotion and profound preoccupations of the popular Indian Nonaryan consciousness, made of Buddhism, Jainism and Hinduism what they are, and that is something other than they were in their intellectual inception. The sculptures themselves (Figs. 26, 28) bear witness to the power of the spirit of devotion.

If we are to believe the Nidānakathā, Sujātā mistook the Bodhisattva for the sylvan deity for whom her offering of milk-rice had been originally intended (Fig. 23); the story proves at least that the Buddhists conceived that such a mistake might very naturally have been made. Later on, to simple folk, statues of Yakṣas and the Buddhas, both associated with trees, both legitimately spoken of as Bhagavat, 'the Lord', both worshipped with flowers, garlands and incense, must have looked very much alike. 20 Nor can we

²⁵ It is interesting to recall in passing the close parallels that exist between Buddhist (and Hindu) and Christian rituals, such as the use of lights, incense, bells, rosaries, tonsure, formal gestures, and music. These cult elements probably found their way into the Christian office through Alexandria and Coptic monasticism the first few centuries of the Christian era (cf. Garb Christentum; and H Berstl, Indo-koptische Kunas. Kunst, 1924) Thus the pagan elements was traced back to a Indian antiquity; and the an interest not sufficient to the content of the christian era (cf. Garb Christentum; and H Berstl, Indo-koptische Kunas. Kunst, 1924) Thus the pagan elements have an interest not sufficient to the christian era (cf. Garb Christentum; and the christian era (cf. Garb Christentum; and H Berstl, Indo-koptische Kunas.)

altogether ignore the fact that figures of a Buddha or Jina protected by a many-headed Nāga, whose hoods form a canopy above their heads, bear, no less than certain Vaisnava types (Balarāma, and Visnu Anantasayana), a striking resemblance to an actual Nāga, as represented in the early sculptures—having a human body, but with serpent hoods rising from a point on the back behind the shoulders. We shall presently recognize a sculptural type which represents well a padmapāni Yakṣa and a Bodhisattva Padmapāni.

We have traced above, in popular Indian religion, the sources of theism, image worship and devotion, as we find them appearing in orthodox Brahmanism and Buddhism toward the beginning of the Christian era-in Buddhism as tendencies that point toward the Mahāyāna. we realize in this way how naturally the demand for a Buddha image must have arisen, and how readily available were suitable types,27 we may be less inclined to jump to the conclusion that the cult image of the Tathagata was of extra-Indian origin. That such had really been the case we could only believe, against all a priori probabilities, if in fact the earliest Indian Buddha figures, instead of perpetuating the plastic tradition and repeating the iconographic formulae of the old Indian school, had really resembled Hellenistic prototypes. Even the most ardent advocates of the Greek theory cannot claim so much as this; nor would it be possible to put forward such a claim with Friar Bala's

that in early Buddhism the Bodhi-tree is generally spoken of as a banyan tree (though always represented in art as Ficus religiosa), it will be seen that, in this particular case of transference of significance from a Bhagavat Yakşa Gotama to the Bhagavat Gautama Sākya-muni, would have been especially easy. See Chanda, 'Mediaeval Sculpture in Eastern India', in Journ Dept. Letters, Calcutta Univ, Vol. III, 1920, pp. 232f.

²⁷ See the next section.

Bodhisattva and the Kaṭrā and Anyor Mathurā Buddhas before our eyes.

IV. ELEMENTS OF THE LATER ANTHROPOMORPHIC IGONOGRAPHY ALREADY PRESENT IN EARLY INDIAN ART

Actual remains and literary evidences abundantly prove that images of divinities and of human beings, both in relief and in the round, existed already in the third and second centuries B.C., and it is very possible that similar figures in precious metals or impermanent materials had been made at a still earlier date. Even in specifically Buddhist art we find the Bodhisattva freely represented in human form in Jātaka illustrations, side by side with the purely symbolic indications of Gautama as Bodhisattva (Siddhārtha) or as the Buddha (Tathāgata). Craftsmen capable of producing the Pārkham and Pāṭnā images, and the reliefs at Bharhut and Sāñcī would have had no difficulty in representing Gautama in human form had they been required to do so.

India had long associated the attainment of higher stations of consciousness and the perception of ultimate truths with the practice of disciplined meditation, and had long been familiar with ascetic teachers. When a Buddha image was required, he would naturally be represented either as an adept or as a teacher; conceptions that immediately connote, in the one case, the cross-legged seance, ⁸⁰ hands at rest on the lap, and abstracted gaze

²⁸ The figure of the Bodhisattva, Siddhartha, is not represented in certain reliefs which have been regarded as illustrating the Approach to the Bodhi-tree, at Bodhgayā and Sāūcī (Cunningham, Mahābodhi, Pl. VIII, Fig 4, as interpreted by Bloch, 'Notes on Bodh-Gayā', in ASI, A.R., 1908-09; Maisey, Sanchi, Pl. XVI; and Fergusson, Tree and Serpent Worship, Pl. XXXIII).

²⁹ Cf Bhagavadgītā, VI. 10-21, describing the firm and easy

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directed toward the tip of the nose; in the other, the same seance, but with the right hand raised, the left resting on the hip, and a more active demeanour. The practice of yoga is older, of course, than Buddhism or Jainism and neither of these religions did more than adopt and adapt the existing technique of contemplation. A beautiful description of the seated yogin will be found in the Bhagavadgita, VI. 10-21, condensed as follows: "Abiding alone in a secret place, without craving and without possessions, with thought and self controlled, he shall be seated upon a firm seat, neither over-high nor over-low, making the mind single-pointed, with the working of the intellect and senses held in check, with body, head and neck maintained in perfect equipoise, looking not round about him, so let him meditate, and thereby reach the peace of the Uttermost Abyss; and the likeness of one such, who knows the boundless joy that lies beyond the senses and is grasped by intuition, and who is free from longing for all desirable things, is that of a lamp in a windless place, that does not flicker."

A briefer description will be found in the canonical Buddhist Dighanikāya, Sutta 22: "And how, O monks, does a monk live, observant of the body?

"Whereas, O monks, a monk, retiring to the forest, or to the foot of a tree, or to some other uninhabited spot. sits down cross-legged, with body erect and contemplative faculty intent...training himself to be conscious of all his expirations and inspirations."

No new effort on the part of the sculptor was needed for the realization of these types, which appear already at Bharhut, once in a relief of uncertain significance (Fig. 25) and once in a composition representing Digha instructing his

⁽sthira-sukha) seance of the yogin. I use the word seance to translate asana in the sense of a mode of sitting, as I use stance to transalate sthāna.

disciples (Fig. 27). Seated figures which have in fact been identified as the Buddha are also found on coins of Maues (c. 100 B.C.) and Kadapha (Kadphises I, c. 40.78 A.D.). Do both coins, we find the cross-legged seance. In the case of the Maues coin (Fig. 6), the two hands are folded on the lap; but there is a horizontal bar extended to the right which may be a sword or sceptre, or possibly the back edge of a throne or seat. In the case of the Kadapha coins (Fig. 8), of which there are two closely related varieties, the right hand is raised, holding some hammer-like object, perhaps a sceptre, the left hand rests on the thigh,

[We are inclined to place Maues' reign in c. 20 B C.-25 A. D. and Kadphises I's in c 15-50 A.D.—D.C.S.]

³⁰ Also in the unpublished relief from Bharhut, a scene from the Vessantara Jātaka, in which the Brāhmana Jūjaka is seen seated cross-legged in his leaf hut Berstl, 'Indo-Koptische Kunst' in Jahrb. as. Kunst, I, 1924, has traced the westward migration of the 'yogimotif' about and somewhat before the beginning of the Christian era. He inferred its early occurrence in Indian sculpture, but does not seem to have known the Bharhut examples above referred to. As a matter of fact, the motif has since been found on Indo-Sumerian scals proably to be dated well before 2000 BC. (ASI, AR, 1924-25, p. 61.)

³¹ Maues: Longworth Dames, in JRAS, 1914, p. 793, calls it Buddha; whitehead, Cat Coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore, p 102 and Pl. X 31, calls it a king; Vincent Smith, Cat. Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, p. 40 and Pl. VIII 4, calls it a deity or king; Gardner, Cat. Coins in the British Museum, Greek and Scythian Kings of Bactria and India, p 71 and Pl. XVII. 5, calls it a king with a sword on his knees. The similar but better preserved type on a coin of Azes (Gardner, op cit., Pl. XVII, and ASI, AR., 1912-13, Pl. XI 18) shows that the latter description should be correct. Kadapha. Whitehead, op. cit, pp 181-82 and references there cited; Marshall, 'Excavations at Taxila', in ASI, AR., 1913-14, p 44 and Pl XI 53; 1914-15, p 35 and Pl. XXIX. 38, and 1915-16, p 34 and Pl XXV. 18-19. Both call it a seated Buddha; but cf. the coin of Huviska, seated king, crossed legs, with attributes in both hands (Vincent Smith, 'Numismatic Notes, I', in JASB, 1897, Fig iv; also the Gandhāra sculpture in ASI, AR., 1914-15, Pl. X 18).

and the elbow is extended, while the breadth of the shoulders and slenderness of the waist are conspicuous. It seems to me that these personages represent a king, and not a Buddha. The Kadapha type, however, apart from the object held in the hand, is exactly that of the early Mathurā Buddhas (Figs. 34-39) and of figures of kings or perhaps Bodhisattvas, and of the Buddha, at Amarāvatī. The cháracteristic and vigorous gesture of the palm or clenched fist resting on the thigh is rarely met with in later art, but survives, for example, in certain mediaeval Bodhisattva types (Fig. 65) and is often used by Javanese actors at the present day.

More convincing than any of the types above referred to are the seated figures found on early Ujjain coins. One of these (Fig. 9) can hardly be anything but a Buddha, as it represents, to quote Cunningham's words, a 'figure squatting in the native fashion beside a holy tree surrounded by a railing', and, moreover, squatting on a lotus seat. This is perhaps the earliest male figure so represented as seated upon an expanded lotus. However, we cannot exactly date these coins; they can hardly be earlier than the first century A.D.⁵² The type, however, is precisely that which appears on Kaniska's seated Buddha coins (Fig. 10), with the identifying designation.

As regards the physical peculiarities of the Buddha type, we find the uṣṇāṣa represented in the Indian fashion as a rounded cranial protuberance already in the case of the relief representing Indra as Śānti on one of the Bodhgayā railing pillars, datable about 100 B.C.⁵⁸ Buddha-like

³² Cunningham, Coins of Ancient India, p. 97 and Pl. X. 7-8, 10. 33 L. Bachhofer, 'Ein Pfeiler-Figur aus Bodh-Gaya', in Jahrb as. Kunst, II, 1925; J. H. Marshall, JRAS, 1908, p. 1096 and Pl. IV. Stella Kramrisch describes this figure as psychologically a Buddha prototype (Grundzuge der indischen Kunst, p. 83). In general appearance, it is nearer to the standing Bodhisattva types.

heads with an usnisa-like protuberance, and many short curls, are represented on several of the Bodhgayā railing medallions. There is, indeed, a prominence very suggestive of an usnīsa to be seen on the head of the Nāga figure on the Pāṭaliputra railing (Fig. 24). I cannot recall any pre-Kuṣāṇa sculpture in which an ūrṇā is represented, nor any earlier example of even a Buddha with webbed fingers than the Māṅkuwār image (448-49 A.D.;* Fig. 61). In the representation of the hair in many curls, which does not appear until after the middle of the second century AD., it is evident that literary tradition has been followed. It has been suggested, and is quite possible, that the webbed fingers represent what was at first a technical device, intended to avoid breakage.

Turning now to the standing figure in early Indian art, we find that its chief iconographic peculiarities are the symmetrical stance, with well-separated feet, the raising of the right hand usually in the abhaya position, 84

^{*[428-29} A.D in our opinion.—D.C.S.]

³⁴ Regarding this mudrā or hasta, which is the only one (except the añjali) common in early Indian art, it should be observed (1) that the hand is sometimes vyāvrtta, sometimes parivitta, the latter position being usual in the later art, and (2) this pose serves apparently to indicate several meanings which are later more carefully differentiated. The various meanings of the patāka hand in dancing include removing fear, graciousness, benediction, taking an oath, addressing an audience, closing a dispute, and any of these are appropriate to the early usage; other meanings, such as 'wave', require a movement of the hand (cf Mirror of Gesture, p. 27). The treatment of gesture in Bharata's Nātyasāstra, which may date back to the second century B.C., implies a long established tradition; for gesture language (which is one of the sixty-four kalās, accomplishments) in everyday life, see Jataka, No. 546 (Cowell's translation, p. 182), where the 'hands' employed seem to have been sikhara and patāka—As regards the clenched fist (musti) of the Mathurā types, I have not observed this in earlier Indian, or in Gandhära, types; the most suitable meaning given in the abhinaya books is that of 'steadiness'. The energy of the gesture is enhanced by the holding

and the placing of the left hand upon the thigh either clenched, or holding the folds of the robe. Later the left hand is generally somewhat raised, but still grasps the drapery. Unfortunately, the arms of the oldest Indian figures, the Parkham (Fig. 2) and Patna (Fig. 3) Yaksas, ** are missing. But the characteristic attitude of the early standing Buddhas is well seen in the case of a panel relief on one of the railing crossbars found by Waddell, so at Pāṭaliputra (Fig. 24), representing a Nāga beside a tree; see also Fig. 47. In later, that is to say pre-Kuṣāna and

of the elbows away from the waist; the arm thus held akimbo is characteristic of early Indian types, found sparingly in mediaeval works (Fig. 65), and survives in the Javanese theatre, while it is not seen in Gandhara.

³⁵ The equally ancient archaic Yaksa at Deoriya, Allahabad (Fig. 47), has the left hand on the hip; and this was almost certainly the same in the case of the Besnagar figure (Fig. 2). For present purposes, it is unnecessary to enter upon the controversy as to whether these figures represent pre-Mauryan kings, or represent . Yakşas of Maurya and Sunga date. I now agree with Chanda (Four Ancient Yaksa Statues. Calcutta, 1921) and others in taking the latter view. It is not disputed that these are the oldest known examples of Indian stone sculpture in the round (recent Indo-Summerian discoveries aside), and represent the true 'primitives' of an original and indigenous style.

³⁶ L. A. Waddel, Report on the Excavations at Pataliputra, Calcutta, 1903, Pl. 1. Other early examples are found on coins. e g Audumbara Dharaghoşa, Cunningham, Coins of Ancient India, Pl. IV. 1; early Taxila, ibid., Pl. II. 14; early Kosambi, ibid., Pl. V. 15. Credit is due to Waddell who, although a subscriber to the Greek theory and ardent admirer of Gandhara art, remarked that "Buddhism . . . manifestly took the pre-existing images of the Brahmanist gods such as we see on the Bharhut stūpa as their model" ('Evolution of the Buddhist Cult, its Gods, Images and Art', in Imp. and As Qtly. Review, Jan., 1912); and equally to Laufer (Das Citralaksana, p. 18): "Wenn die Buddhisten das ganz brahmanische Göttersystem adoptiert haben, dann ist auch die grösste Wahrschein-· lichkeit vorhanden, dass sie die Ikonographie diser emfangen haben; es ist undenkbar, dass sie die künstlerische Gestaltung selbst erfunden haben sollten."

early Kuṣāṇa, sculpture, the pose is so usual that we may fairly regard it as typical. Yakṣas, Nāgas, and goddesses are alike represented in this way. Sometimes the left hand rests simply on the hip (katy-avalambita-hasta); sometimes it seems to grasp the drapery; sometimes, particularly in the case of the Bacchanalian Yakṣa and Nāga types (Fig. 49), it holds a flask suggesting the amṛta flask of Maitreya.

The phylogeny of the standing Bodhisattva types is even clearer, because here the secular costume is retained, whereas in the Buddha figures we expect, and generally find, a monastic costume without jewelry. Starting with Yaksa prototypes, the Bodhisattva seems to have been developed in two directions, that of the independent figures, and that of the figures associated with the Buddha in a triad. The Yaksas as guardians, attendants worshippers in early Buddhist art are represented with a flower, or as cauri-bearers, or with folded hands; and these types appear as members of a triad long before the central figure is anthropomorphically represented. Thus, if we look at the north torana at Sanci, outer face, we find on the topmost architrave in the centre a Dharma-cakra (wheel), that is to say, the Buddha turning the wheel of the Law, in other words, preaching the first sermon at Varanasi and on either side, though one is now missing, a cauri-bearing Yakşa (Fig. 14). It may be noted that the left hand grasps the fold of the drapery—a feature very characteristic of the Buddha figures. Again, between the lowest and second architraves, we see three uprights (Fig. 20), in the centre a Bodhi-tree, representing the Buddha on the occasion of the Great Enlightenment, and on either side a Yakşa holding a rose lotus. The cauri-bearing type persists long after the anthropomorphic image appears (Figs. 34, 35, 60), but is later on replaced by differentiated

Bodhisattva types holding attributes. If, however, we consider the lotus-bearing type just referred to and illustrated in figure 20, we are immediately struck by the fact that there is only one way in which they can be described, from an iconographic point of view, namely as - padmapāņi, that is to say, having a rose lotus in the hand.' I do not mean to assert that these figures already represent the Bodhisattva Padmapāņi, though that may be possible; I do mean to say that, when it became recessary to present this Bodhisattva to the eye, the type lay ready to hand. It may well be that the very conception of a Bodhisattva Padmapāni was suggested by the existence of Padmapāni Yaksas. A parallel case is that of the Yaksa Vajrapāņi (Figs. 35, 40), originally the Buddha's faithful attendant, later the Bodhisattva Vajrapāņi (Fig. 65). Incidentally, this Yaksa and Bodhisattva Vajrapāņi should not be confused with Indra, to whom the epithet Vajrapāni also applies, but who never became a Bodhisattva. Regarding the generally similar aspect of the Bodhisattvas and Yaksas, little more need be said, except to remark that the resemblance of type is such that, in more than one instance, modern students have mistaken ancient Yakşa figures for Bodhisattvas. 87 As regards a resemblance in function, it need scarcely be pointed out that the Bodhisattvas, like the Yakşas, are frequently worshipped, not for the sake of enlightenment, but as guardians and protectors from earthly ills. 58

³⁷ Cf Diez, Die Kunst Indiens, Fig. 131; H. P. Sastri, in JBORS, 1919, p 552.

³⁸ References to Yakşas as guardian or familiar spirits will be found in Foucher, L'art greco-bouddhique du Gandhāra, II, p. 47; in the Prabandhacintāmaņi of Merutunga, Tawney's trans., p. 203 (there is a corresponding passage in the Kathākoşa; and Mahāvamsa, Ch. X).

In the case of Jaina iconography, the sequence is even clearer; only here there are no Bodhisattvas, and the cauri-bearing attendants remain to the last as attendants. well known to be Yakşas. It is noteworthy that some of these Jaina Yaksas, attendants on the Jinas, bear the name of Hindu deities, such as Brahman, who are not, from the usual Hindu point of view, Yaksas at all. 89 We are reminded here of the iconographic descent of the Hindu deities, which like the Buddhist divinities are derived from a limited early stock of types in which the Yaksa 👡 or king formula predominates; the two types are essentially similar—the Yaksas are by no means always represented as pot-bellied. It may indeed have been objected that some of the worshipping figures associated with symbols of the Buddha in early Buddhist art are not really Yaksas, but kings; this may be true, but only illustrates the fact that the early conception of a divine personage is based upon that of an ideal ruler (Cakravartin). This being the case. indeed, it is less surprising that the similarity of the Bodhisattva and royal types should have persisted throughout the later development; this only accords with the view, moreover, that on the one hand, kings are earthly divinities while, on the other, divinities by their very nature are persons who exercise dominion (aiśvarya) over a more or less extended domain in accordance with their special functions. The phylogeny of Hindu iconography, however, lies outside the scope of the present article; I may point out merely in passing the close relation existing between such early Siva types as that of the Gudimallam lingam and such early Yakşa types as those of Bharhut and Sāñcī.

The origin of the Buddhist and Hindu feminine divinities

³⁹ Glasenapp, Der Jainismus, pp. 361-62; J. Burgess, 'Digambara Jaina Iconography', in Indian Antiquary, Vol XXXII, 1903.

can be only briefly referred to. If we do not meet with them very early under their Buddhist and Hindu names, that is not to say that they were not known in the same forms, but under other names at an earlier date. Forms like those of Tārā or Devī in their simplest sāttvika aspect, representing beautiful deep-bosomed women, whose only attribute is a lotus flower held in the hand, are iconographically indistinguishable from the proto-Laksmi so often represented in reliefs of Sanci and Bharhut, on coins, for example, those of Amoghabhūti and of Azes, and by early terracottas. India forms no exception to the general rule that, in all religious development, it is the natural human tendency to continue the worship of the ancient forms, even in the ancient manner, accepting, at first tacitly and then as a matter of course, the newer interpretations and terminology. It may well be. indeed, that the image of Tārā, as Barnett has suggested, 40 goes back to the time when Anahita, whether known by that or by some other name, was worshipped alike in Western Asia and Indo-Summerian India.41

⁴⁰ JRAS, 1926, p. 765.

⁴¹ It is true that another goddess of prosperity, Ardochso, to use her name as it appears on early coins, enters into the body of Indian iconography; this is probably a Hellenistic form, a Western Fortune, and with her characteristic cornucopia, she can be followed far into the mediaeval imagery. But how small a part this form, to be identified by the un-Indian cornucopia, plays beside the innumerable feminine divinities, Buddhist or Hindu, who hold in their hand a lotus flower, the *līlā-kamala* of Indian poetry! As we have already remarked, it is far from our object to deny the existence of any foreign element whatsoever in Indian iconography; we wish only that the matter should be apprehended with a due sense of proportion.

For the early Indian terracottas, see Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin, No. 152, and a fuller account to appear in Ipek, 1928, also ASI, A.R., 1924-25, Pls. XXII, XXVII.

[[]Tārā seems to have been introduced about the 3rd-4th century from an aboriginal cult of East India and several deities, including a few Mongoloid ones, probably merged in her in the course of time.—D C.S]

The Buddha figures of Mathurā and Gandhāra are both nimbate; in the former, the nimbus is simply scalloped at the edge; in the latter, it is plain. That the Mathurā Buddhas are nimbate is regarded by Foucher and others as a distinctive mark of Greek influence, inasmuch as both the nimbus and rays are found in Greek art of the Alexandrian period. In the first place, it may be remarked that the nimbus or rays must have originated in some Classic area of sun-worship, and may be older than the known Greek examples. In India, it occurs on the coins of Maues, (c. 100 B.C.), and so, even if of western origin, need not have any specific bearing on the Gandhāra question. But it would have been a most natural development within the

⁴² Foucher, L'art greco-bouddhique du Gandhara, I, p 42.

⁴³ So also the thunderbolt of Zeus is older than the earliest known Greek representations (Jacobsthal, Der Blitz in der orientalischen und griechischen Kunst, Berlin, 1905). In such cases, it is simpler to regard the Indian occurrences as belonging to the common Indo-Western-Asiatic inheritance than as late borrowings, more especially when we have also early literary references to the form (Atharvaveda, IX. 10 3) where the trisandhi, the three-pointed bolt of Indra, is deified (Bloomfield, Artharva Veda ..., p. 75). For the earliest Indian representation of a vajra (Maurya or Sunga), see ASI, AR, 1911-12, p 93 and Pl. XXXII 5. As regards the innumerable motifs such as winged lions common to Indian and Western Asiatic art, it is not only (as Fergusson long ago perceived, Tree and Serpent Worship, p 132) 'not clear that the Indian form may not be of an original stock as old or older than the Assyrian', but very probable that this is so, the motifs being cognates rather than late borrowings.—The oldest nimbus with which I am acquainted appears as a circle with flaming rays surrounding the flying deity Asur on an enamelled faience from Assur now in the British Museum and dating from the ninth century BC (W Andrae, Farbige Keramik aus Assur, Berlin, 1923, p. 13 and Pl. 8) It is interesting to observe on the same plaque a representation of clouds and raindrops according to a formula later traceable in Central Asia and in India (see my Catalogue of Indian Collections, Boston, Part V, Nos CLVIII and CCCXCIVb, pp 120, 201)

Indian tradition. In Vedic ritual, a golden disc was placed on the fire altar to represent the sun; it may well be that, in other cases, such a disc was placed behind the altar; at any rate, this would naturally tend to be so in the case of smaller altars bearing cult objects. Radiance is a quality associated with all the Davas, and we might expect that when an anthropomorphic image took its place upon the altar, once empty or occupied by a symbol, the disc would remain—just as the Bodhi-tree remains behind the Vajrasana when the visible Buddha takes his place upon it. At any rate, we do in fact find representations of altars bearing symbols (the bowl relic, Fig. 22), having behind them just such a hemisphere as we might expect, with the usual scallop edge of the Kuṣāna nimbus; a similar half-disc appears [with rays] behind a seated Surya type (D 46 in the Mathurā Museum) of the Kusāna period (Fig. 44). It seems to me very likely that we have before us a direct traditional continuity. In any case, the nimbus cannot be regarded as an argument of much weight in the Gandhara question. As I have constantly repeated and as cannot be too often repeated, the only real argument would consist in showing that the earliest Indian Buddha figures, whatever their date, resemble Gandhāra types and are not in the iconographic or stylistic tradition of the older indigenous works.

A rather constant distinction of Gandhāra from the Mathurā Buddha figures appears in the form of the throne, which in Gandhāra is usually a lotus, and in Mathurā, a simhāsana, that is to say, a rectangular pedestal supported by lions. The exact significance of this difference is hard to explain. It may be remarked that the Gandhāra lotus is somewhat un-Indian in that it is represented not as a broad expanded surface, but rather suggesting a prickly artichoke, as if the Indian conception of a firm and easy seance had been somewhat misunderstood. If the

Gandhāra sculptors depended wholly or partly on a literary tradition, perhaps the distinction arose in connection with the double meaning of the word padm-āsana, which signifies both 'the lotus seance' and 'the lotus seat'. In India proper, the sculptor would have been better aware that the Buddha could be represented in padm-āsana (lotus seance) without necessarily being seated upon a lotus. That the Indian sculptors followed a tradition in which the lion had importance, no doubt in connection with the conception of the Tathāgata as Śākyasimha, 'a Lion of the Śākyas', is also shown by the fact that in some standing figures, for example, Friar Bala's Bodhisattva, a lion is represented seated between the rather widely separated feet of the Master.

In Gandhara Bodhisattvas, the turban, when represented, is usually of a typically Indian, Kusana, form. When, as in Figs. 17 and 32, we find in this headdress a Dhyani-Buddha represented, in Mathura works in an Indian manner and in Gandhara works in the Hellenistic tradition, it seems most natural to assume that the Indian type is original. Incidentally, it may be remarked that the occurrence of this formula in the Kuṣāṇa period is one of the earliest plastic evidences available of an already advanced stage in the development of Mahāyāna theology. Be it observed that it is not inconceivable that such a small Buddha figure had been actually worn by Indian Buddhist kings, who might have wished to be regarded as Bodhisattvas, just as Kadphises II using the title of Mahesvara suggests that he is an incarnation of Siva; at a much later period, such a Buddha figure was certainly worn in the headdress by the Sinhalese king Vimala Dharma Sürya.44

^{* [}Mahiśvara of the Prakrit-Kharosthī legend may stand for Māheśvara, 'a devotee of Maheśvara or Śwa'.—D.C.S]

⁴⁴ Reproduced in Rouffaer and Juynboll, Indische Batikkunst, and my Mediaeval Sinhalese Art, Pl. XXII.

Another cycle of the same kind is represented by the *līlā-kamala* or *līl-ābja*, 'the lotus of dalliance', held in the hand by divinities and by kings and queens from the time of the earliest reliefs up to the present day; whether this lotus had originally a precise symbolic significance, or, as the *Mahāpadāna-sutta* expresses it, was simply 'dear to and beloved of all', we can hardly say.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ In early Indian art, the lotus is held in the hand, is used as a seat or pedestal, is represented in medallions, and in the fullvase (punna-ghata, bhadda-ghata) motif, and is constantly employed in the decorative borders. Foucher is undoubtedly right in regarding the lotus when treated per se as of symbolic significance, and as designating the feminine divinity who holds the lotus in her hand and is sometimes accompanied by elephants who pour down waters upon her from jars held in their trunks. This type, exactly corresponding to the later Lakşmi and Gaja-Lakşmi, when met with in Buddhist art, Foucher describes as Māyādevī; and this goddess, or the lotus alone, he regards as designating the nativity of the Buddha. The type, however, is equally a favourite one in early Jaina art; it appears on early votive terracottas, and on coins which we have no special reason to regard as Buddhist. Perhaps the most fully realized type is that of the pillar from the Jamalpur mound, Mathura, now B 89 in the Lucknow Museum (Cunningham, ASI Reports, Vol I, or my History of Indian and Indonesian Art, Fig. 74); here we have the full-vase motif, with masses of lotus flowers rising from it, and the goddess standing on one of the flowers amongst the others. This proto-Laksmi may have designated the nativity in some special instance; but we have no edivence that such was the case. Māyādevī, when unmistakably represented in the later nativities, belongs to the dryad (vrksakā) type. What we may well be sure of is that, fundamentally, the goddess of the lotus is a figure of Abundance, drawn from the warm and living imagery of popular cults Like the dryads and many of the railing figures, the aspect of fertility is emphasized When the elephants are present, these are surely the life-giving monsoon clouds. And the rose lotus, which Foucher recognized as her particular symbol, is, at once, an emblem of the waters and of abundance.-In old Jaina texts, the Gaja-Laksmi composition is always described as the lustration (abhiseka) of Fortune (\$\sigma r\in).—The significance of the lotus seat and pedestal must be different from this. It will not be overlooked that Brahman in the Epics is called abja-ja, 'lotus-born' and kamalasana, 'seated

Great differences are found too in the treatment of the In Gandhara, the hair is generally thick and undulating (Fig. 30) and the usnisa is either covered by the hair or replaced by a kind of chignon. In Mathura, however, both the Buddha and Jina images are represented at first with a spiral protuberance (Fig. 34) which is a lock of hair and not an usnisa; later the whole head and hair are covered with small short curls, and this type after the second century becomes the almost universal rule, the only example (Fig. 61) of the smooth head dating from the Gupta period being the Mankuwar image, 448-49 A.D.* In Gandhara, as the process of Indianization of the type proceeds, the flowering locks are restricted and by gradual transitions come to conform to the Indian curly formula. Both types, the early single spiral (Fig. 34) and the later multiplicity of short curls seem to reflect, though in different ways, the tradition of the Nidanakatha that, when the

on a lotus'. In the Satapatha Brahmana (VII. 4. 1. 4 and X. 5. 2. 6), the lotus plant is said to represent the [cosmic] waters, and the earth is a lotus leaf floating on the waters. Here the idea of a divine and miraculous birth is present. In later works, the mysterious purity of the lotus, which springs from the mud and is yet so fair, and whose leaves, though they rest on the water, are not wetted by it, is often referred to. Also, it is characteristic of the gods that they do not touch the earth; the lotus flowers that rise beneath their feet and which, even in seated images, are, as it were, their footstool, designate this peculiarity. In the later cosmologies both macrocosm and microcosm are in various ways compared to a lotus, and it is possible that some conception of this kind is present when a lotus is seen in the hand of a deity, the līlā-kamala, 'lotus of dalliance', a toy as it were in human hand, is likewise the cosmic scene of the divine līlā.—Finally, it can hardly be doubted that, at the time we are speaking of, the history of decorative art was already so ancient that the lotus may well have been extensively used simply as a familiar design, without special or conscious significance,

^{*[428-29} A.D. in our opinion.—D.C.S.]

Bodhisattva shore his locks, his hair 'was reduced to two inches in length, and curling from the right, lay close to his head, and so remained as long as he lived'.

The occurrence of Jaina types, practically identical with the Buddha types, except for the absence of the robe, is noteworthy. It is generally assumed, and must be assumed, when the Hellenistic theory is adopted, that the Jaina types are derived from Buddhist ones. But such little [palaeographic] evidence as is available tends to show that the Jaina types as found on āyāgapaṭas, 'votive slabs' (Figs. 41-42) are somewhat older than any dated Buddha figures. Laufer has suggested with some plausibility that the Jainas preceded the Buddhists in the adoption of an iconolatrous cult.

It is a rather mysterious fact that, though the Jainas, like the Buddhists, were well established in Taxila in the Scytho-Parthian period, as architectural remains prove, not a single example of Graeco-Jain sculpture appears either then or at any subsequent period.

A few sculptures that may be called Graeco-Hindu are known; but these belong to the later period (third century) when Gandhāra art is much Indianized. The most interesting of these figures is a three-headed Maheśa (so-called Trimūrti) from Chārsada, ⁴⁷ comparable to the three-headed Śiva with the bull on one of the coin types of Vāsudeva. ⁴⁸ This Maheśa type can be traced across Central Asia (possibly in the sense of a Lokeśvara) and to China and

⁴⁶ Laufer, Das Citralaksana, p. 18

⁴⁷ Natesa Aıyar, 'Trimürtı Image in the Peshwar Museum', in ASI, AR., 1913-14

⁴⁸ R. B Whitehead, Catalogue of the Coins in the Punjab Museum, Pl XX. 11; Gardner, Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings...., Pl XXIX 10; another good specimen is in Boston

Japan. 40 In the same way a Buddha type of Mathura origin can be followed through Turkestan to China. 50

The Buddha and Jina (Fig. 43) type of a seated or standing figure, sheltered by the expanded hoods of a polycephalous Nāga, and the similar Hindu type (Viṣṇu-Anantaśāyin—but not always reclining, there being a fine seated example in the Vaiṣṇava Cave at Bādāmi) present a common interest. Here, in the same way, it would be usual to derive the Hindu from the Buddhist type: but the converse is more probable. At any rate, the Mahābhārata story of Rāja Adi in which the sleeping Droṇa is found sheltered by a serpent's hood is older than any possible Buddha figure.* From this story is derived the place name Ahicchatra, 'serpent-umbrella,' and, as Cunningham suggests, the Buddhists probably took over the idea from

⁴⁹ Stein, Ancient Khotan, Pl. LX; Chavannes, Mission archéologique dans la Chine septentrionale, Pl. 224; and appearing in Japan as Dai Itoku.

⁵⁰ Foucher, L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra, Fig. 563; Stein Ancient Khotan, Pl. LXXXII; Sirén, Chinese Sculpture, pp xxxvii f. (the affinity of style of a great number of Chinese sculptures from the end of the fifth to the beginning of the following century 'is so evident and uniform that it hardly needs to be pointed out in detail' and if this is ignored by Foucher, it is because he 'made it his task to trace the influence of Gandhāra in as many places as possible'), pp. xli, lxvi, and Pls. 116-17, also Documents d'art chinois, Pls. XLIX, LIV and LVI (Indian treatment of the hair).

^{*[}There is a serious error in the statement here. Cunningham speaks of a local legend about the Ahīr Rājā Adi (Anc. Geog. Ind., ed. Majumdar Sastri, p. 412). Because a serpent spread his hood over Adi's head when he was asleep, Drona predicted that he would become a king. This is not a Mahābhārata story, and Cunningham is mistaken about its antiquity The Ahīr's name was apparently Adhi so as to give us Adhikṣetra (Adhi's place), another form of Ahicchatra (serpent-umbrella; also cf. Sans kṣetra=Hindi chatra).—D.C.S.]

the Hindus.⁵¹ There is a close resemblance between the appearance which would be presented by a seated polycephalous Nāga of the Mathurā or Sāñcī⁵² type, and a seated Buddha or Jina sheltered by a Nāga, the only difference being that in the one case the hoods rise from the back between the shoulders, in the other the coiled tail of the Nāga forms a seat, and its whole body is really quite distinct from that of the principal figure. There may be a genetic connection here. The polycephalous Nāga is very rarely met with in Gandhāra.

If the Indian Buddha figure, Mathurā type, is not derived from Gandhāra, what is the relation between the two schools, that is to say, in the beginning and during the period preceding the stylistic Indianization of the Gandhāra school? Exactly to what extent Gandhāra iconography is derived from pre-existing Indian forms, either through Mathurā or otherwise, is still a matter for further research. Certainly some Gandhāra sculptures are replicas, or very closely related developments, of pre-existing Indian ones. When Spooner remarks⁵³ about a Bodhisattva fragment found at Takht-i-Bāhī, "The resemblance of this figure to some of the Bharhut sculptures is remarkable, but

⁵¹ ASWI, Reports, I, pp 255-56. Ahicchatra is one of the places where a stūpa, traditionally of Asoka, was erected by the side of a Nāga tank (Beal, Buddhist Records of the Western World, p. 200)—It may be added that, as is well known, modern standing figures consisting of a human figure with serpent hoods rising from the back between the shoulders, are known as Baldeo (Balarāma); but Balārama in the Mahābhārata is identified with Sesa Nāga, and is described as having his head wreathed with snakes (Hopkins, Epic Mythology, p 212) It is possible therefore that the iconography is ancient, and not the result of a modern confusion of types.

⁵² As at Sanci, Fergusson, Tree and Serpent Worship, Pl. XXIV 1 and 2.

⁵³ Spooner, 'Excavations at Takht-i-Bāhī', in ASI, AR., 1907-08, with reference to Fig 6, ibid.

of course this can only be accidental," the 'of course' seems to be dictated by a preconceived view. The resemblance is not accidental in the case of the Vessantara Jataka 54 compositions (Fig. 57), or in that of the Gandhara Vrksaka (Woman-and-tree) types. M. Foucher, indeed, has himself shown to what an extent Gandhara made use of older Indian formulae. 55 How far this was also true in Buddha figure needs further investigation. I by no means positively assert that Buddha figures were first made in Mathurā and afterwards copied in Gandhāra, though, as Goloubew says, that is possible. The Gandhara school may have been based, like the Northern Wei school in China, mainly on literary traditions. Stylistically, of course, Gandhara is independent; but hardly more definitely so than China or even Java, and Chinese or Javanese style is no proof of Chinese or Javanese origins. All we can say definitely is that practically every element essential to the iconography of the Buddha and Bodhisattva figures appears in early Indian art before the Buddha figure of Gandhāra or Mathurā is known.

V. STYLE AND CONTENT: DIFFERENTIATION OF INDIAN AND HELLENISTIC Types

In the previous chapter only the iconographic èlements (theme and shape) have been referred to; it remains to point out that the Indian stylistic sequence presents a similar

⁵⁴ Cf also another Gandhara example, ASI, A.R., 1909-10, Pl. XVIII. If the Bharhut relief had been lost, it would surely have been claimed that this composition originated in Gandhara; and, in fact, Aurel Stein takes this for granted (Desert Cathay, I, p 489). The same composition occurs in a Miran fresco of the second or third century AD. (Stein, op. cit.), and survives in modern Buddhist art (see my Mediaeval Sinhalese Art, frontispiece).

⁵⁵ L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra, I, pp. 206 ff.

continuity, and to define the distinction of the Indian from the Hellenistic type in respect of content and form.

In the Parkham and Deoriva images (Figs. 2-3) we have works of archaic aspect, characterized by frontality and an abrupt transition from the plane of the chest to that of the sides; in the Patna image (Fig. 3) the same features are equally evident. These archaic features, of course, are gradually refined upon as time passes. More significant and permanent is the great plastic voluminousness; everything is felt in mass, and nothing in outline; this quality is maintained in Indian sculpture until after the Gupta period, while it is the very opposite of what we find in Gandhara, where sculpture represents the decadence of a tradition, and is, as we should naturally expect, attenuated and linear. The early Indian figures stand symmetrically, with the feet somewhat apart, and this is also the case with later images of the type of Friar Bala's Bodhisattva (Fig. 2). In the early figures, the sculptor has at his command an adequate scheme for the representation of the folds of drapery; and this drapery clings closely to the figure. In many Sunga and early Andhra works, the body is revealed almost as though it were nude. Here again is a feature that is highly characteristic of the early Mathura Buddhist figures, and of Gupta art generally. In Gandhara, the drapery is treated realistically, the folds rising well above the level of those parts of the material that are actually incontact with the flesh; at Mathura, the treatment is schematic and clinging.

Nothing is more characteristic of the early Indian art than its affirmative force; the Gandhara style by comparison is listless. This radiation of force is scarcely at all reduced in the Mathura standing and seated figures, which in this respect, indeed, are somewhat at variance with the dispassionate serenity which we are apt to regard as characteristic of the Buddha types. In the early Indian works and up to the end of the second century A.D., there is hardly ever to be found deliberate grace; it is not without reason, though the language may sound strange in the ears of students of art, that some archaeologists have described the Gandhāra figures as graceful, the Mathurā types as clumsy and unwieldy. This only expresses the common and unsophisticated view that regards all early art as 'awkward', and all late art as 'better'; but in the present connection, it serves to exhibit very well the stylistic gulf that separates Gandhāra from Mathurā. In fact, the Gandhāra types, like other Hellenistic works, are soft and woolly; those of Mathurā, tense, and even strained. Whatever we may think about the iconography, it would be impossible to imagine a genetic connection of either school with the other in point of style.

Again, the earlier Indian types are products, not of observation, but of cerebration; they are mental abstractions. As Indian culture became more conscious, racial taste was more and more a determining factor in such abstractions. That the model upon which the artist worked was regarded from the stand point of knowledge, and not of observation, is reflected in the use of sadhanas or dhyanamantras, which constitute the main part of silpa-sastras so far as they are concerned with the making of cult images. No natural form is imitated merely because it is present. in nature; on the contrary, all the formulae of art are as much samskyta as Sanskrit itself, and every phrase was intended to have a definite significance. Of course, the art, as it develops, comes to have an appearance of greater 'truth to nature'; the actuality and spontaneity of Ajanta paintings, for example, have been remarked upon. But it would be an error to suppose that even here we have an unsophisticated art, like that of those who take nature for their model. The Indian theory of knowledge, as M.

Masson-Oursel has pointed out⁵⁶ amounts to this that objects are created by thought, not that pre-existing objects are perceived. Hence the importance of correct thought; and this in relation to art is theoretically a matter of revelation and secondarily, one of tradition. The forms created by correct thought need not, by any necessity, conform to those perceived in nature by untrained perception; all that is necessary is that they should be consistent and significant.

Where we think we recognize an increasing 'truth to nature' and assume a closer observation, as in the Ajantā paintings referred to, what we have in reality is greater consciousness, ⁵⁷ the artist, mehr einfuhlende, is more aware of the tensions that he represents, and consequently, represents them more convincingly. But the corresponding gesture had already been codified in dictionaries of gesture (Bharata's Nāṭyaiāstra); and the painter is really using a highly artificial and conventional language of glances, inclinations and gestures, all with definite significance. When we come to examine his supposed realism more closely, we find that it has no foundation in the observation of anatomy or modelling, and that it depends entirely on an understanding of the psychology of gesture. When later

^{56 &#}x27;Notes sur l'esthetique indienne' Revue des Arts Asiatique, III, 1926. Cf. also Zimmer, Kunstform und Yoga, 1926—'Kultbild ist Yantra'.

⁵⁷ The case of painting is not quite the same as that of the religious sculpture Painting was to some extent cultivated as a fine art and as an accomplishment. Portraits must certainly have been likenesses. In sculpture, even the effigies of donors are types, rather than likenesses. The sculptor represents the gods, as Sukrācārya says, not men—though the latter may be pleasing, it is not the way to heaven (Sukranītisāra, IV iv. 154-57). It is significant that a knowledge of the science of dancing was considered essential to the understanding of painting (Viṣnudharmottara, III ii. 3). [The Sukranītisāra is a very late work.—D.C.S.]

on the same formulae have become rigid habits, this only means that the race has fallen from the high level of consiousness and subtlety that marked the zenith of its culture, not that observation of nature has been abandoned; the suggestion of realism is immediately lost, which is by no means the case in decadent Greek art.

The Silpa-sastras were certainly current in the Gupta period; Hsiian Tsang refers to such works as forming a section of the Sastras studied by laymen. 88 But the use of formulae goes back to a much earlier time. Indians from the beginning were deeply interested in physiognomy, and it is with this preoccupation that a fundamental type like that of the Mahāpurusa-Cakravartin was' conceived. theoretical type, with its thirty-two principal marks (laksanas) and other minor marks, is older than the Buddha image, older presumably than the Buddha himself. At least, the Buddha is described as a Mahāpuruşa in the canonical books, and as possessing these marks, some of which are represented in the sculptures. Thus the Buddhists had taken over, at an early period, from non-Buddhist sources, a conception of the Buddha as Mahāpurusa or Cakravartin; the laksanas were certainly not the invention of the Buddhists, but were taken over by them and applied to the person of the Master. In other words, a definite idea of the Buddha's appearance existed before the time of actual representations; nor did this idea differ from that which a Hindu would have had of the appearance of such a god as Visnu, likewise a Mahāpurusa.59 That the Buddha could not be

⁵⁸ As stated in the Si-yu-ki, Beal, Buddhist Records of the Western World, I, p. 78.

⁵⁹ On the subject of the Mahāpurusa, see Laufer, Das Citralakṣaṇa, pp. 14 ff.; Grunwedel, Buddhist Art in India, pp. 80, 120 ff., 133; Kern, Manual of Indian Buddhism, pp. 62, 95; for other references, see Beal, Buddhist Records of the Western World, I, p. 1; R. O.

regarded as a man in the ordinary sense of the word may be gathered from the words attributed to himself, in reply to the questions of Drona, a Brāhmaṇa who found him seated at the foot of a tree: was he a Deva, Gandharva, Yakṣa, or man-? The Master replies that he is none of these, but a Buddha. Like the gods, he is anthropomorphic, but not a man; and as a deity, he stands with them as a fit and natural subject for iconographic representation.

All this mentality and formulation are foreign to the Hellenistic tradition, which represents the last term of a long development that had been determined by a profound interest in human form studied for its own sake. Greek idealism regarded even ideal forms as objective realities, not as fashioned by thought; hence, or in other words, Greek instinct was perceptive and outwardly directed. Even though the story be a myth, it is still significant that a Greek sculptor should have been supposed to have created a perfect type by combining the beauties of five different individuals. An Indian, connoisseur of the beauty of woman as he was, would never have resorted to models, because he knew a priori in what the beauty of women consisted. or if we can imagine him in doubt, would have consulted a Sāstra; it would never have occurred to him to find out what it was by turning to nature. The Greeks, like Wordsworth, though not perhaps in quite the same way, were 'fond of nature'; and this kind of art they brought But while the Indian kind of art in its to perfection. decadence becomes a repetition of stereotyped formulae no longer felt, the Greek kind in its decadence becomes rhetorical and facile.

Francke, 'Der dogmatische Buddha nach dem Dighanikāya', in WZKM, 28, 1924

⁶⁰ Anguttaranikāya, II, 37. Cf. Lalitavistara, Ch. XVI: "Is this Brahman, Indra, or Vaiśravana, or some mountain deity?"

We are dealing, in fact, not merely with two different kinds of art, but with two arts in entirely different stages of their development; the Greek already decadent, the Indian still primitive. A serious stylistic influence of a realistic or decadent art upon a formal or primitive art (and we have seen that both distinctions held) could only have been destructive; we have seen too much of the influence of European art on Asiatic art within the last hundred years not to be aware of this; nothing inwardly resembling Gandhāra art had been produced in India before the nineteenth century. The fact that art of the Indian school pursued a normal course (i.e., it 'develops') from first to last is not a proof that the refinement of the primitive types was due to external influences, but a proof of continuity in the indigenous tradition.

Apparently only one example of Mathurā sculpture in the round, representing a Buddha or Bodhisattva, has been regarded as an actual imitation of a Gandhāra prototype; ⁶¹ and only one piece of actual Gandhāra sculpture has been found in Mathurā. ⁶² It is admitted by all students and will be obvious from the most cursory examination of the accompanying illustrations that the sculptures of Kaniska's reign differ so much from Gandhāra types that a genetic connection seems inconceivable. ⁶³ It is only in certain reliefs, mostly of the middle period (Vāsudeva and later), as justly noted by Codrington, ⁶⁴ that Gandhāra influence can be definitely recognized (Figs. 58-59). The Dhruv Tīlā

⁶¹ A 47 in the Mathurā Museum, Vogel, in ASI, AR, 1906-07, p. 15.

⁶² F 42 in the Mathura Museum, Burgess, Ancient Monuments, Pls. 56-57.

⁶³ See my Indian Origin of the Buddha Image', IAOS, Vol. XLVI, p. 169.

⁶⁴ Ancient India, p. 47.

stūpa drum^{6,5} described by Foucher as a 'caricature lamentablement indianisée' ^{6,6} must be reckoned amongst these.

Why did not the Mathura craftsman adopt more freely Hellenistic mannerisms? I think it was mainly because the required types lay ready to hand in the local tradition. The transition from a Buddha type like that of the Ujjain coin (Fig. 9) to a designated Go[tama] Boydo (the legend of Kaniska's seated Buddha coin),* and from a padmapāņi attendant to an attendant Padmapāņi took place almost unnoticed. That which seems to us a kind of artistic revolution really implied no new iconographic invention: it involved a new terminology much more than a new art. India had long been familiar with images of gods; Patañjali, presumably in the second century B.C., speaks of images of Śiva, Skanda and Viśākha, not to mention other and earlier indications and the known Yaksa figures. The whole process belongs to the theistic development which had been taking place, and is naturally reflected in the substitution of anthropomorphic figures for the older abstract symbolism. Buddhism cannot be considered alone: that Buddha had come to be regarded as Devātideva, 'God of the gods,' shows that, as usual, each religion is affected by the current tendency. There is no canonical prescription of images in Buddhist literature, early or late; and very soon the Buddhist authors take it for granted that images had been made even in the Buddha's own lifetime.

The Mathurā sculptors, then, had no more occasion to adopt, the Hellenistic iconography or style than they had to replace their own Brāhmī by Kharoṣṭhī, which must have been the official script of Kaṇiṣka's capitals at

⁶⁵ V. A. Smith, The Jain Stupa of Mathura, Pls. CV-CVII.

⁶⁶ In JA, X, 11, 1903, p. 323.

^{*[}The reference is probably to the first part of the legend Oduobou Sakamana i.e., Advaya-Şākyamuni), etc.—D.C.S.]

Peshāwar and Kāpiśa. I do not believe that the slightest prejudice against Gandhāra art, as such, existed; or if so, only as an instinctive taste, the nature of which is indicated in Le Coq's just remark: "Allen Asiaten erscheinen Europaergesichter (also auch die der Hellenen) sehr unschön". 67 I once showed to a Kandyan craftsman, a descendant of silpins and ācāryas, and proficient in his art, a good example of European design, rather thinking he would admire it; in fact, however, he seemed neither attracted nor repelled, and merely remarked, Ek eka raṭa, ek eka veḍa, that is, "every country has its own style". I believe that a Mathurā craftsman would have regarded a Gandhāra work in the same way.

It must be remembered too that the Buddhist and Hindu images were not regarded, and never have been regarded, in India as works of art; they were made as means of edification. Prestige attached to sanctity, not to style; the same situation may be observed in modern times in connection with such relatively uncouth types as those of the Srī-Nāthajī⁶⁸ of Nāthadvāra and Jagannātha of Purī of which painted replicas are constantly made, adhering rigidly to type, regardless of the availability of much more

⁶⁷ Bilderatlas zur Kunst und Kunstgeschichte Mittelasiens, p. 28. Cf. Lafcadio Hearn, 'About Faces in Japanese Art', in Gleanings in Buddha Fields.

⁶⁸ It is perhaps worth while to remark here that the images of Srī-Nāthajī which was found underground near Mathurā, and subsequently removed to Nāthadvāra near Udaipur, still the main sanctuary of the Vallabhācāryas, may well be in fact a Kuṣāṇa Buddha. The image, so far as I know, has never been photographed or published; but the painted replicas show a standing figure, with the left hand on the hip, and the right raised in abhaya-mudrā, with a certain angularity suggestive of early Mathurā types. This would not be by any means an isolated instance of the later worship of an old Mathurā Buddhist figure under the name of a Hindu deity.

attractive (humanly speaking) Kṛṣṇa and Viṣnu types. The modern imager is totally unaware of stylistic degeneration; in the same way, he must, in early times, have been unaware of the virtue of his art. He did not think at all in terms of our connoisseurship; the plastic style of his day came to him as naturally as the spoken language, and both as a matter of course. Particular images would only be copied on account of their special sanctity, not because of their artistic merits. Particular places would only become recentres of distribution, as Mathurā was,60 or as Jaipur still is, because the religious importance and prosperity of such places during an extended period had necessitated the existence there of ateliers able to supply the needs of the devout inhabitants or pilgrims. Now we know that, in the time of Kaniska, Mathurā was a most important Buddhist centre, probably the most important in India; as remarked by Przyluski in quite another connection, "Mathurā esit parmi les communautés boundhiques une situation privilegée"; 70 and it z played a very great part in the dissemination of the faith. This being so, it is not in the least surprising that the Mathura school should have played such an important part as it did in the history of Buddhist art. 71

We are able, moreover, to trace the influence of the Mathurā types, not only at Amarāvatī, but as the formative basis of Gupta art, by means of archaeological data, and not only by stylistic evidence. In the time of Kaṇiṣka, Mathurā had already such a reputation that, Buddha and

⁶⁹ See below.

⁷⁰ J. Przyluski, Aśokāvadāna, 1923, p. 9.

⁷¹ A fact more than once emphasized by Vogel (in ASI, A.R., 1909-10, p. 78, and Catalogue, Mathurā Museum, p. 28), who can "only have regarded it as 'not a little curious' because of his preconviction that it should have been not Mathurā, but Gandhāra, that exercised great influence on Buddhist art in other parts of India.

Bodhisattva images were exported thence to Sañci, Prayag, Amin (near Thanesar), Kasia, Śrāvastī, Pāṭaliputra, Sārnāth, Bodhgayā, Rājagṛha and to many parts of the Punjab, including even Taxila. At Sārnāth, copies of Mathurā types have been definitely recognized. In the Gupta period, while local ateliers had developed at places like Sārnāth, and Sāñcī, Mathurā sculptures were still exported to those and other sites. These facts sufficiently explain the close relation of the Kuṣāṇa and Gupta forms.

Gupta art bears within itself the proof of its Indian origins. As Laufer has remarked, one has no need of the panoply of anthropology to recognize that the Buddha types of Ajantā are representations of true Indians, and have no connection with the sculpture of Gandhāra; they are "echt indisch und haben keinen Gandhāra-geruch". This is only what has been remarked by Vincent Smith, Goloubew, and Foucher himself, in connection with the sculpture.

⁷² Laufer, Das Citralaksana, p. 16.

⁷³ References to the statements made in this and the preceding paragraph will be found in my 'Indian Origin of the Buddha Image', in JAOS, Vol. XLVI, 1926. In addition, Foucher, L'art grecobouddhique du Gandhara, p. 611: "ce sont les répliques de Mathura qui ont servi de modèle à Bénarès, et ce sont les repliques de Bénarès que le Magadha a copiées a son tour....Son evolutionse traduit encore et toujours par l'élimination progressive l'élement étranger sous la pression due gout indigène"; and Sahni, Guide to Sarnath, 1926 ed., p. 11: "The arrival of thus (Friar Bala's) statue at Sarnath must have been so welcome that local artists at once set to work and the Sarnath Museum contains two statues (Ba 2 and 3) which are almost exact copies of the one from Mathura". Vincent Smith goes so far as to say that "The style of the Sarnath works [of Kusana dates] is so closely related to that of Mathura that illustrations may be dispensed with." The Sarnath types of the Buddha and Bodhisattva images, which followed, are rightly regarded as the finest creations of the Gupta period. It was no wonder therefore, that this new art so rapidly spread not only to the rest of India, but also to the neighbouring countries of Siam, Combodia, and Ceylon. It will be seen that all that is required to

The Gupta is a normal and direct development to the Mathurā type; and this Gupta type is the dominating model underlying all those of Farther India and Indonesia. We have only to look at a sequence of examples beginning with the Pārkham image (Fig. 2) and culminating in the Mathurā types of the Gupta period (Fig. 5) to realize that there is no room at any point in the development for the intercalation of any model based on Hellenistic tradition. If such an influence was exerted, and to some extent it can be recognized in the middle Kuṣāṇa period, it was so slight and ephemeral as to have become unrecognizable within a century, or at the most within two centuries.

VI. DATING OF THE GANDHARA AND MATHURA BUDDHAS

Here we know nothing for certain; and what we do not know cannot be used with much cogency in support of any agrument. Nor can the question of dates, whatever discoveries may be in store for us, ever by itself provide us with a final solution of our problem. For, if the Gandhāra Buddhas could be proved older than any Mathurā ones, this would not alter the admitted fact that the conception of the figure is Indian, nor the equally obvious fact that the earliest Indian Buddha figures are in stylistic and iconographic continuity with the older indigenous art. Nor, on the other hand, if priority could be proved for the Mathurā types, would it alter the fact that the Gandhāra types are Hellenistic in style; the inconography in Gandhāra might still have been derived from elements already present

establish a Hellenistic origin of the Buddha image as it appears in the Gupta period, fully evolved, is to show that Friar Bala's Bodhisattva type (Fig. 4) is a 'réplique' of the Gandhara type (e.g. Fig 53) When this has been done, I shall be ready to accept the Greek theory, bag and baggage.

in early Indian art, or constructed from literary sources, and a Mathurā origin of the Buddha image in Gandhāra would not be proven. Nor would it alter the fact that the considerable elements of Hellenistic style can be followed across Central Asia into China, Korea and Japan, nor the fact that even in India definite traces of the Gandhāran influence can be detected. Nevertheless, it will be worth while to recapitulate the few available facts, and refer to some of the conclusions that have been or may be drawn from them.

Advocates of the Hellenistic theory assume, and probably rightly, that the best works are the earliest, and, further opine that the Gandhara school, so far as the earliest Buddha figures are concerned, developed in the first century The Bimaran reliquary excavated by Masson in Afghanistan before 1840 has been assigned to the first century B.C. on account of coins of Azes associated with it; 74 but the methods of excavation nearly ninety years ago were not by any means as critical as they are now; coins in any case merely provide a terminus post quem, and Wilson himself was of the opinion that the stupas of Afghanistan 'are undoubtedly all subsequent to the Christian era'. 75 Marshall dates the reliquary about the beginning of the Christian era; of Gandhara sculptures in general, he remarks more cautiously that 'it may be safely asserted that a number of them,.....are anterior to the reign of Kaniska'. From the inferior workmanship and deja stereotypėe character of the Buddha figure on the Kaniska reliquary (Fig. 56), made by Agesila sebsequent to 120 A.D.

⁷⁴ Bachhofer, Zur Datierung der Gandhara Plastik, p. 14-"keine zweifel zu, das es in die Zeit des Azes I gehort".

⁷⁵ Ariana Antiqua, p. 322. [Azes I and Azes II may be placed in the first century A.D.—D.C.S.]

⁷⁶ Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, p. 648; Guide to Taxila, p. 60.

(the date of Kaṇiṣka's accession here assumed, vide infra), Foucher and others have concluded that the period of the finest work must be pushed back to the first century B.C.⁷⁷ This is a rather bold inference to draw from the inferior workmanship of a single object, even though it would seem that it must have been one of importance. Marshall holds that 'considerations of style do not permit us to determine the chronological sequence with any approach to accuracy'.⁷⁸

Three dated Gandhāra figures have been found; but it is not known to what era the dates refer. On the assumptions that have been made, the date of a standing figure from Loriyān Tangai is 6 A.D.⁷⁸ and that of a standing figure, and of a pedestal with a seated figure, both from Hastnagar, 72 A.D.⁸⁰ The Bodhisattva illustrated in Fig. 55 is not dated, but is assigned by Bachhofer to the third quarter of the first century A.D. More reliable than any of these doubtful cases is the very definite

^{, 77.} L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra II, p 443; Spooner, in ASI, A.R., 1908-09, p. 50.

⁷⁸ Guide to Taxila, p. 31; Cambridge History of India, I, p. 648

⁷⁹ Bachhofer, op. cit; Vogel, 'Inscribed Gandhara Sculptures', in ASI, AR., 1903-04. Foucher assigns the date 4 B.C. If we assume the Vikrama era which is used on the Dharmarajika silver scroll (Marshall, Guide to Taxila, p 52), the date Samvat 318 becomes equivalent to c. 262 A.D. Fleet, in JRAS, 1913, p 999, points out that a use of the Saka era would make the date 396 A.D. It will be realized that the selection of eras in the various interpretations of Gandhara Buddha image dates is often tendenzios.

⁸⁰ Bachhofer, op. cit; Vogel, loc. cit. It should be noted that the former takes Kaniska's date of accession as 78, AD, and using the 1904 edition of Vincent Smith's Early History of India fails to observe that Smith since returned to the date 120 A.D., in agreement with Marshall and Konow Smith (in JASB, 1889) assigned the Hastnagar pedestal to the fourth century A.D. and this dating would in fact hold good if we assume the era of Azes, the numeral of the actual inscription being 384. Fleet, in JRAS, 1913, p. 999, uses the Vikrama era, making the date 343 A.D.

negative evidence provided by scientific excavations at Here the Scytho-Parthian and early Kusana strata at the Dharmarājikā site have not yielded a single fragment of Graeco-Buddhist sculpture. 61 At Sirkap, the city in occupation at Taxila from the second century B.C. to the time of Wima Kadphises, c. 75-80 A.D., not a single piece of Graeco-Buddhist sculpture appears in the long list of finds; 82 the only sculpture of any kind in Gandhara stone is a small figure in the round of a semi-nude goddess holding a lotus flower, quite an old Indian type, and in style intermediate between Indian and Hellenistic. The terracotta and stucco heads from the apsidal Buddhist temple include no Buddhas or Bodhisattvas. This is a very significant negative evidence, and seems to indicate that the Gandhāra Buddha figures can hardly have been made until a little before the time of Kaniska. All that we can be quite sure of is that the Gandhara school of Buddhist sculpture was most productive in the time of Kaniska, a point on which almost all authorities are agreed.83

⁸¹ Marshall, in ASI, A.R., 1912-13, Pt. I, p. 12.

⁸² For lists of the Sirkap finds, see Marshall, Guide to Taxila; Ch. VI, and Excavations at Taxila, in ASI, A.R., 1912-13, 1914-15, 1919-20. For the Sirkap statuette, see ASI, A.R., 1919-20, p 20 and Pl. IX; and cf. the same type in Egypt, a terracotta of about the beginning of the Christian era, Berstl, op. cit., p 173 and Pl. 103.

2. The type recurs on the Limarowka vase and in other places cited by E. Herzfeld, Die Malereien von Samara (abb. 5, etc.). The absence of Buddhist and Jama sculpture at Sirkap is the more striking as the architectural remains prove Buddhism and Jamism to have been flourishing.

⁸³ Foucher, L'art greco-bouddhique du Gandhāra, I, p 42; Vogel, op. cit., p. 258; Smith, History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon, p. 132; Grünwedel, Buddhistische Kunst in Indien, 2nd ed., 1920, p. xiv. During the third and fourth centuries A.D., the Gandhāra school continued to flourish abundantly; but the stone is largely replaced by terracotta and stucco, and the type becomes thoroughly Indianized (see Marshall, Stūpa and Monastery of Jauliān in Mem. ASI, Vol.

The date of Kaniska is not yet a fact established beyond dispute; datings have ranged from 58 B.C. to the third century A.D., the substantial controversy being between those who suport the date 78 A.D. and those who suport the date 120 or 125 A.D. The date c.120 A.D. adopted here is regarded by Marshall as proved by the results of excavation, and has been accepted by Vincent Smith and Sten Konow. The point is not essential to our study, where the relative dating alone is of significance.

Friar Bala's Bodhisattva at Sārnāth is dated in the third vear of Kaniska, thus c. 123 A.D. The Katra Bodhisattva and Anyor Buddha from Mathura have inscriptions palaeographically similar, and must be of the same period. A large number of other Buddha figures from Mathura, some in the round, others in relief, are identified in style and must be dated near the same time; some are probably a little earlier than Kaniska; but most of the others of this type are assignable to his reign or that of Huviska. We are certainly not entitled to assume that Friar Bala's figure or any of the other figures in our possession was the first of its kind ever made. Nor is it conceivable that an image exported to Sārnāth, not to mention those of Mathurā origin found at other sites, should have been of the first Buddha images ever made; however quickly the fashion developed, however great the prestige of the Mathura ateliers may already have been, some time must have elapsed between the first acceptance of the type in Mathura and the development of a general demand for the Mathura Buddha images at other and distant sites throughout the Ganges valley. These considerations compel us to suppose that the Buddha images must have been made in Mathura soon after the

VII, 1921). The monasteries seem to have been destroyed and activity of the school brought to an end by the Hūna invasions at the end of the fifth century.

middle of the first century A.D., at least before the end of the century.

It should be observed that the Jaina ayagapatas from Mathura, bearing Jina figures of the same type as that of the seated Buddha figures, have Brahmi inscriptions which seem to be pre-Kuṣana; that they were dated by Bühler in the first century B.C. depended, however, on an earlier dating of Kaniska than that now adopted. A re-examination of the inscriptions is needed; all that we can say is that these slabs may well be assigned provisionally to the middle of the first century A.D.

As regards the Buddha figure on an Ujjain coin (Fig. 9), I see no reason at present to date this before the first century A.D.; the fact that a coin of the same class and character bears a figure of a three-headed Maheśa, not-withstanding that it has been assigned to the second century B.C., 85 is itself evidence that the general type should be assigned to the first or even the second century A.D.

The so-called Buddha figures on the coins of Maues and Kadapha (Kadphises I) are indeed datable, and the former would take us back to the beginning of the first century B.C. As stated above, however, I do not think

⁸⁴ See p. 438 above Many of these ayagapatas are illustrated by Vincent Smith, The Jain Stūpa of Mathurā. One of the slabs from the Kańkāli Tīlā is dated in the reign of Sodāsa and is thus pre-Kusāna; but it is hardly safe to assume that the slabs with Jina figures are of the same age.

⁸⁵ The Maheśa figure is illustrated by Cunningham, Coins of Ancient India, Pl. X, 6 Rapson, Indian Coins, p. 14, justly remarks that' there does not exist sufficient evidence to arrange the early Ujjain coins in chronological order. The ascription of the Maheśa type to the second century BC. will be found in the Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, p 532, the coin being again illustrated in Pl V. 19. But no polycephalous type is certainly older than the reign of Vasudeva, and it is impossible to date the Ujjain coin before the second century A.D.

that these can be accepted as Buddha figures; all that they certainly show is a type closely related to that of the seated Buddha figure when it finally appears and can be recognized without possibility of error.

It will be seen from what has been said above that the whole evidence for the dating of the Gandhara Buddha types in the first century B.C. or early first century A.D. rests upon five objects, of which three are dated in unknown eras, one excavated nearly a hundred years ago is dated on the evidence of coins alone, and one is of the Kaniska period. This is a very slender foundation upon which to base an argument flatly at variance with the evidence of the excavations at Taxila. The balance of real evidence tends to show that the Buddha figure came into general use somewhat before the beginning of the reign of Kaniska, and not more than fifty years at most, if so much, before his accession. The evidence is not sufficiently precise to warrant us in forming a theory as to the priority of either school. I am inclined to presume on general grounds a priority for Mathura; but that is not evidence. All that we can assert is that the earliest Buddha types in each area are in the local style; and that later on, though some mutual influence was felt, the outstanding character of the development is one of stylistic Indianization in Gandhara, and one of adherence to the Mathura type in the Ganges valley, subject to the normal stylistic evolution which marks the transition from Kuṣāṇa to Gupta types. Great scorn has been poured upon the view that Gupta art would have been just what it is had the Graeco-Buddhist school of Gandhara never existed, and of course such a statement could not be literally defended; yet I am prepared to assert that the Hellenistic element actually traceable in Gupta art is really insignificant. In view of the considerations and facts brought forward above, it becomes impossible

to treat the phrase 'Greek origin of the Buddha image' as representing anything more than a rhetorical misuse of language; if art of the Gandhāra school, as its students admit, is half Indian, art of the Kuṣāṇa and Gupta periods in the Ganges valley is altogether Indian, for it deals with the same ideas, and uses a plastic language that is in direct continuity with that of the preceding centuries.

ILLUSTRATIONS

- Fig. 1—Typical Buddha figure, seated in dhyāna; curly hair, but the uṣṇ̄ṣa is not preserved. Over life-size.

 C. third-fourth century A.D. Anurādhapura,
 Ceylon, in situ.
- Fig. 2—Yakşa. From Besnagar. Over life-size (cf. Fig. 47). Usually assigned to the third century B.C. Indian Museum, Calcutta.

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- Fig. 3—Yakṣa. From Patna, Second century B.C. Indian Museum, Calcutta.
- Fig. 4—Friar Bala's Bodhisattva (Buddha), made in Mathurā and set up at Sārnāth. Over life-size (cf. Figs. 18, 31). Dated in the third year of Kaṇiṣka, i.e. 123 A.D. Sārnāth Museum.
- Fig. 5—Buddha. From Mathurā. Typical Gupta example. Over life-size (cf. Fig. 33.) Mathurā Museum.
- Fig. 6—Goin of Maues. Enlarged (Gardner, Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings....., Pl. XVII. 5). C. 100 or 80 B.C.
- Fig. 7—Coins of Azes. (Whitehead, Cat. Coins, Punjab Museum, Pl. XI. 195.) C. 58 B.C.
- Fig. 8-Coin of Kadapha (Kadphises I, c. 43-78 A.D.)
- Fig. 9—Ujjain coin, with seated Buddha on lotus, beside railed tree with chatra. Enlarged (Cunningham, Coins of Ancient India, Pl. X. 10). Probably first century A.D.
- Fig. 10—Coin of Kaniska, with seated Buddha (Whitehead, loc. cit., Pl. XX. vii). 120-165 A.D.*

^{*[}The Ara inscription of year 41 should be assigned to a second Kaniska.—Ed.]

- Fig. 11—Coins of Kaniska, with standing Buddha (Gardner, loc. cit., Pl. XVII. 2).
- Fig. 12 Coins of Kaniska, with standing Buddha. British Museum.
- Fig. 13—Kupiro Yakho (Kubera Yakşa). From Bharhut. Early second century B.C. Indian Museum, Calcutta.
- Fig. 14—Yakşa with cauri. Summit of north torana, Sanci, in situ. C. 100 B.C.
- Fig. 15—Indra as the Brāhmaṇa Śānti. Bodhgayā, in situ. C. 100 B.C.
- Fig. 16—Bodhisattva. From Mathurā. C. 100 A.D. Mathurā Museum.
- Fig. 17—Bodhisattva Maitreya, Dhyāni-Buddha in headdress, amṛta flask in left hand. From Mathurā. C. 190 A.D. Lucknow Museum.
- Fig. 18—Buddha. From Mathurā. Cf. Fig. 4. C. 100 A.D. Lucknow Museum.
- Fsg. 19—The Abhiniskramana of the Buddha. 100-50 B.C. East torana, front, middle architrave, Sanci, in situ.
- Fig. 20—Buddha triad. C. 100 B.C. Three uprights between architraves of the north torana, Sanci, in situ.
- Fig. 21—The First Sermon in the Deer Park, Varanasi.

 Detail of a pediment from Mathura. C. 100 A.D.

 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
- Fig. 22—Detail from the same pediment; above, the Bowlrelic on an altar with nimbus; below, the Bodhitree (Great Enlightenment of the Buddha).
- Fig. 23—Sujātā approaching the Bodhi-tree, beneath which the Buddha is understood to be seated immediately prior to the Enlightenment. C. 100 B.C. Detail of middle architrave, north torana, Sāñcī, in situ.
- Fig. 24—Nāga standing under tree. From railing, Pātaliputra. Third or early second century B.C. Indian Museum, Calcutta.

- Fig. 25—Men seated in yoga pose, cross-legged, in the windows of an upper story. Early second century B.C. Railing medallion, from Bharhut. Indian Museum, Calcutta.
 - Fig. 26—The Nāga Erāpata worshipping the Buddha (represented by the Bodhi-tree and altar). Early second century B.C. Bharhut.
 - Fig. 27—Digha instructing his disciples. From the railcoping, Bharhut. Early second, century B.C. Indian Museum, Calcutta.
 - Fig. 28—Stupa with worshippers, representing the Parinirvāṇa of the Buddha. Early second century B.C. Bharhut.
 - Fig. 29—Vessantara Jātaka; gift of the Elephant. From the rail-coping, Bharhut. Early second century B.C. Indian Museum, Calcutta.
 - Fig. 30—Head of the Buddha. From Gandhara. Early second century A.D. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
- Fig. 31—Head of the Buddha. From Mathurā. Early second century A.D. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
 - Fig. 32—Head of a Bodhisattva, probably Maitreya, with Dhyāni-Buddha in headdress. From Gandhāra. Early second century A.D. Field Museum, Chicago.
 - Fig. 33—Head of the Buddha, typical Gupta type. From Mathurā. Fifth century A.D. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
- Fig. 34—Bodhisattva (so called in inscription). From the Katrā mound, Mathurā. Second century A.D. Mathurā Museum.
 - Fig. 35—The Buddha, similar to Fig. 34. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
- Fig. 36—Bodhisattva Maitreya, with amīta flask in left hand.

 Detail of pediment, Mathurā. C. 100 A.D. (?)

 Mathurā Museum.

- Fig. —37—Seated Buddha or Bodhisattva with turban. From Mathurā. Second century A.D. Property of Messrs. Yamanka.
- Fig. 38—Above, the Buddha teaching; below, the Great Enlightenment. Detail of the same pediment as Fig. 36.
- Fig. 39—Seated Buddha or Bodhisattva, similar to Figs. 34, 35 and 38 above. From Mathurā. Early second century A.D. Mathurā Museum.
- Fig. 40—Visit of Indra to the Buddha in the Indrasala Guha; on the upper right, the Yaksa Vajrapani; below, with mitre-like crown, Indra. From Mathura. Second century A.D. Present location unknown; formerly the property of L. Rosenberg, Paris.
- Fsg. 41—Āyāgapata, with seated Jina in centre, attended by two Yaksas. From Mathurā. Late first century A.D. (?) Lucknow Museum.
- Fig. 42—Another Ayagapata; in the centre, a seated Jina without attendants. Same source and present location as Fig. 41.
- Fig. 43—The Jina Pārśvanātha. From Mathurā. C. 100 A.D. (?) Mathurā Museum.
- Fig. 44—Sūrya, the Sun-god, winged with nimbus, in a chariot drawn by four horses. From Mathurā.

 First century A.D. (?) Mathurā Museum.
- Fig. 45—Yaksa, with a purse, probably Kubera. From Achnagar near Mathurā. Second or third century A.D. Present location unknown.
- Fig. 46—Nāga with two attendants supported by makaras.

 From railing pillar, Amarāvatī. Late second century

 A.D. Madras Museum.

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- Fig. 47—Yaksa. Deoriyā,* Allahābād. The deity wears a turban and has a chatra over his head. Cf. Fig. 18. Third century B.C.
- Fig. 43—Bodhisattva Maitreya, with the amīta flask in the left hand. Cf. Fig. 49. First century A.D. (?) Timken (Burnet) Collection, New York.
- Fig. 49—Nāga, with a flask in the left hand. Cf. Fig. 48, and also ASI, A.R., 1919-20, Pl. XXI.b, the same type seated, mediaeval, called Nāgārjuna, but in Vogel, Indian Serpent Lore, Pl. XIV, designated a Nāga. Cf. also the Nāga Dadhikarna with a flask, ASI, A.R., 1924-25, Pl. XL.a. First century A.D. (?) Author's collection.
- Fig. 50—Bodhisattva. From Mathurā. Early second century A.D. Present location unknown.
- Fig. 51—The Buddha. From Mathurā.
- Fig. 52—The Buddha. From Mathurā. Third century A.D. Present location unknown.
- Fig. 53—The Budhda. From Gandhara. C. 100 A.D. (?)
- Fig. 54-The Buddha. From Gandhara. C. 100 A.D.
- Fig. 55—Bodhisattva. From Gandhāra (Sahr-i-Bahlol). C. 100 A.D. (?)
- Fig. 56—Reliquary of Kaṇiṣka. From Peshāwar. Second quarter of the second century A.D. Calcutta Museum.
- Fig. 57-Vessantara Jātaka. From Gandhāra. Cf. Fig. 29.
 Second or third century A.D. Museum of Fine
 Arts, Boston
- Fig. 58—Six scenes from the life of the Buddha. From Mathurā. (This and the next show some Gandhāra features.) Second century A.D. Mathurā Museum.

^{*[}Here and elsewhere Deoriyā has been located in Allahābād. It was in the Gorakhpur District, but is now in a District of the same name.—D.C.S.]

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- Fig. 59—Two scenes from the life of the Buddha. From Mathurā. Second century A.D. Mathurā Museum.
- Fig. 60—Seated Buddha, with two attendant cauri-bearers (Yakṣas). School of Amarāvatī. About 200 A.D. Field Museum, Chicago.
- Fig. 61—The Budhha. From Mankuwar. Inscription of date equivalent to 448-49 A.D.*
- Fig. 62—The Buddha. From Mathurā. Late second century A.D. (?) Sāncī, in situ.
- Fig. 63—The Buddha. Fifth century A.D. Sanci, in situ.
- Fig. 64—The Jina with two Yakşa attendants. Mediaeval.

 Mathurā Museum.
- Fig. 65—Bodhisattva Vajrapāni. Copper. From Ceylon.
 Ninth century. Meseum of Fine Arts, Boston.
- Fig. 66—The Buddha. Copper. Nepal. C. tenth century.

 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
- Fig. 67—Jina Pārsvanātha. Bronze, Karņātak. Mediaeval. Kay collection, Madras.
- Fig. 68—The Buddha. From Dong Doung. Possibly of Indian or Sinhalese manufacture. C. third century A.D. Hanoi Museum.
- Fig. 69—The Buddha. From Mathurā. Third century A.D. Mathurā Museum.
- Fig. 70—The Buddha. From Anuradhapura, Ceylon. Third or fourth century A.D. Colombo Museum.
- Fig. 71—The Buddha, said to have been found in Burma, but probably of Indian manufacture. C. sixth century A.D. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
- Fig. 72—Buddha. From Sārnāth. C. fifth century A.D. Sārnāth Museum.
- Fig. 73—Bodhisattva Padmapāṇi. From Sārnāth. C. fifth century A.D. Sārnāth Museum.

^{*[}See above, p. 409, D.C.S.]

APPENDIX

As remarked by Kern (Manual of Indian Buddhism, p. 94), 'There is no lack of legends anent the origin of Buddha images; but it would be difficult to discover in those tales, which are wholly discordant, something like a historical nucleus. Nothing definite results from the legends, except the fact that images of the Tathagata were venerated by the faithful at the time of the tales being invented." The stories are well known. Most of the references will be found in Kern, loc. cit.; see also J. Hackin, 'Illustrations tibétaines d'une légende du Divyavadana' in Ann. du Musée Guimet, Dib. de Vulg., XL, 1914. I have not thought it worth while to cite any of these stories above. But there are some which are of considerable interest in connection with what has been said about the lay origin of the cult, the analogy with images of other deities in current use, and the hesitation with which a Buddha image was at first accepted as orthodox. The citations below are of interest as illustrating the psychology of those whose devotional feelings led to the use of Buddha images.

The Mahāvamsa, V. 90 ff., written no doubt when images were already well known, very naturally ascribes to Aśoka a desire to behold the likeness of the Buddha. "Let us behold," he is made to say, "the form of the omniscient Great Sage, of him who hath boundless knowledge, who hath set rolling the Wheel of the True Doctrine." Then a Nāga king, in response to this expressed desire, 'created a beauteous figure of the Buddha, endowed with the thirty-two greater signs and brilliant with the eighty lesser signs, surrounded by the fathom-long rays of glory and adorned with the crown of flames'.

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In the Divyāvadāna, Ch. LXXVII, Upagupta compels Māra to exhibit himself in the shape of the Buddha. Upagupta bows down to the form thus produced, and Māra is shocked at this apparent worship of himself and protests. Upagupta explains that he is adoring not Māra, but the person represented, "just as people venerating earthen images of gods do not revere the clay, but the immortal ones represented by themIndeed, I am well aware of this, that the foremost of teachers has passed away into Nirvāṇa, yet beholding his lovely likeness (nayana-kāntām = ākṛtim), I have bowed to that Rṣi; it is not you whom I worship."

Analogous to the coming into use of a Buddha icon is the first use of the Buddha legend as material for a drama. In this connection the Kah-gyur (Schiefner, Tibetan Tales, No. XIII) has a story about an actor, who went first to the Nāga Nanda, a faithful worshipper of the Buddha (in whose lifetime the events are supposed to have taken place), to obtain from him the necessary data for the drama. Nanda, on hearing the purpose for which the information was required, refused contemptuously: "Wretched man," he said, "Do you wish us to portray the Teacher for you? Begone, for I will tell you nothing." The actor, however, obtained the required information from a learned nun and composed his drama. "He pitched a booth in Rajagrha on the day when the festival of the Nagarajas, Girika and Sundara, was celebrated and sounded a drum. And when a great crowd had collected, he exhibited in a drama..... events in the life of the Bhagavat, in harmony with the Abhiniskram na-sūtra. Thereby the performers and the assembled crowds were confirmed in the faith. And they uttered sounds of approval, and he made a large profit."

All this must have been very like what took place when Buddha images first came into use. Incidentally it has some value for the history of the Indian drama.

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